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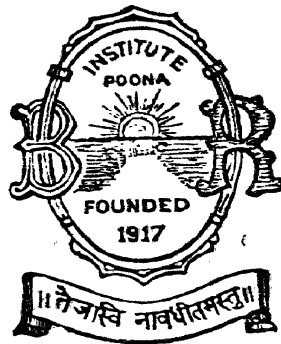
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R. D. Karmarkar, M.A.

R. N. Dandekar, M.A., Ph.D.



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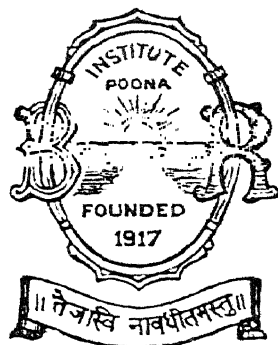
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[PARTS III-IV

VRTRA

[A study in the impact of the Aryans on Indian Culture]

By

BUDDHA PRAKASH

I

" Whenever civilization seems to be choking amidst its weeds of wealth and debt and servitude," wrote H. G. Wells, " when its faiths seem rotting into cynicism and its powers of further growth are hopelessly entangled in effete formulae, the nomad drives in like a plough to break up the festering stagnation and release the world to new beginnings:"¹ The operation of this law of history manifests itself in the influx of uncouth and uncultured peoples, a quest for settlement and livelihood, in the realms of civilized communities as invaders, traders and mercenary soldiers. Gradually these peoples enter all spheres of civilized life and contribute their innate vigour and vitality to their working. Thus a static and statuesque culture throbs forth with new life and resumes its growth and progress.

In India this law is seen operative at the dawn of her history. Proto-Indian culture, which had reached a high pitch of deve-

1. *The Outline of History* Vol. II p. 471.

lopment become extremely sophisticated in course of time. Its life was cramped down by tawdry fashions and styles which grew from a feverish quest for pleasure. A large number of stone phalli (lingas) and vulvae (Yonis), representations of highly ornamented naked women and seal portraits of gods with raised penis (Ūrdhvamedhra) exhumed from Mohenjodaro and other ancient sites, reveal the maudlin and libidinous character that this culture had assumed. Likewise, the remains of towns, roads, drains, baths, godowns, palaces, fabrics, faïence and other luxury articles found there, show the wide range of social stimuli which strained the faculty of response of the people to the breaking point.¹ Thus this culture lay ailing and allured the warlike Aryans to overwhelm it. Large hands of Aryans poured in India² and their clashes with the aboriginal people, as symbolized in the myth of Indra-Vṛtra conflict, shaped the evolution of that cultural amalgam from which the essentials of Hindu civilization emerged.

1. For a succinct account of Proto-Indian culture see, V. Gordon Childe : *What happened in History* (Pelican) p. 111 et seq.

2. Some scholars think that the Aryans are indigenous to the soil of India and did not come from outside. This view is based on the absence of any clear reference in Indian literature to Aryan invasion. But there are some indubitable facts which point very precisely to the Aryan invasion of India and Iran : (1) The *Vendidad* (I, 3) states that Airyana Vaeja, the ancestral land of the Aryans, and the first land created by Ahurmazda, was thrice widened by Yima (Yama) owing to the increase in population. Finally, to guard against the calamity of oncoming harsh winter, Yima organized a successful migration to the hospitable south. (2) In Vedic literature we notice a shifting of the centre of gravity of the life and culture of the people from the north west to the south east, from the Indus to the Ganges. (3) In the Boghaz-Koused records, the language used is certainly anterior to that of the Vedic literature. In it, the pre-vedic diphthong 'ai' which was contracted to 'é' before consonants and 'ay' before vowels in Vedic and the pre-vedic consonants 'z' 'h' and 'z' are preserved. This shows that the Aryans passed through Asia minor and spoke this language on way to India, where their speech underwent a change. (4) In later traditions the centre of the earth is said to be

(Continued on the next page)

II

The myth of Indra-Vṛtra conflict figures prominently both in Indian and Iranian traditions. In India Indra is called Vṛtrahan on account of his having killed Vṛtra. In Iran he is known as Verethraghna¹ and is the symbol of the spirit of victory. He is one of the two dread beings, who march before the chariot of Mithra. In later times he became the favourite god or iṣṭadeva of the Sassanians as Varharan. Many of the Sassanian Kings were named as Varharan. One Varharan ruled in Iran from 273 A. D. to 276 A. D., another Varharan ruled there from 276 A. D. to 293 A. D.; a third Varharan fought a civil war for the throne with his grand-uncle Nerseh in 293 A. D. and a fourth Varharan occupied the Iranian throne from 388 A. D. to 399 A. D. In Pehlvi traditions Verethraghna or Varharan figured as the angel Behram.²

In early Indo-Iranian traditions the myth of Indra Vṛtra conflict represents the pristine Aryan dualism of good and evil. The powers of good are always at war with the forces of evil and ultimately triumph over them. Indra stands for good and Vṛtra for evil and Vṛtrahatyā is the suppression of evil by good. This symbolism is interpreted in various ways in different schools

1. Moulton : *Early Zoroastrianism* p. 103 et seq.

2. I. J. S. Taraporewalla : *Zoroastrianism (Cultural—Heritage of India* Vol, II p. 328 F. N.)

(Continued from the previous page)

Mount Meru or Sumeru which is divided from Mt. Mandāra by river Shailodā or Shailodakā or Shitodā. This river has been identified with 'Si-to' mentioned by the Chinese. 'Si-to' is the river Yārkand or Zarafshan which flows at the northern foot of the Karokoram dividing it from the Kun-lun mountains. The 'Kīchaka' bamboo growing on the bank of this river Shitodā or Si-to is the same as 'Ki-cōk' of old Chinese. Thus Meru is Karakoram. The location of the centre of earth in Central Asia (Chinese Turkastan) shows that it was prominently connected with the life of the Aryans at one time. The concept of Mount sumeru seems to be of semetic origin for the earliest occurrence of this word is in an early semetic legend in the British Museum [King:

(Continued on the next page)

of Vedic thought. The Nairuktas such as Yāska¹ regard this mythical conflict as a figurative description of the natural pheno-

1. Nirukta II, 5 तत्क्रो वृत्रो मेघ इति नैरुक्तास्त्वाष्ट्रोऽसुर इत्येतिहासिका अपां च ज्योतिषश्च मिथ्रीभावकर्मणो वर्षकर्म जायते तत्रोपमार्थेन युद्धवर्णा भवन्यद्विवत् खलु मन्त्रवर्णा ब्राह्मणवादाश्च Yāska himself is uncertain about the correct etymology of the word Vṛtra. Hence he suggests many conjectural etymologies for it. He derives it from 'Vr' (to cover), from 'Vṛt' (to be) and from (Vṛdh) (to increase), which shows the doubt that lurks in his mind about this word. Vide his remarks :

तद्वृत्रो वृणोतेर्वा वर्ततेर्वा वर्षतेर्वा । यद्वृणोत्तद्वृत्रस्य वृत्रत्वमिति विज्ञायते । यद्वर्तत तद्वृत्रस्य वृत्रत्वमिति विज्ञायते । यद्वर्षत तद्वृत्रस्य वृत्रत्वमिति विज्ञायते ।

— Nirukta II, 5

(Continued from the previous page)

History of Sumer and Akkad P. 14 F. N. 2] (5) The Rāmāyaṇa (VII, 90, 21), quoted in the paper, states that the Ailas migrated to Madhyadeśa from bālhi (Bactria) in central Asia. (6) Indian traditions recorded in the *Paṇḍichsūdani* of Buddhaghosa represent the Kurus, a branch of the Ailas, as colonists from the Trans-Himālayan region known as Uttara-Kuru [B. C. Law: *Ancient Mid-Indian Kshairiya Tribes* P. 16] (7) Kurukshetra the land of the Kurus appears to have included the Uttara-Kuru territory and extended up to the borders of Turkestan at the outset. We learn from the *Taittiriya Aranyaka*, that Turghna was the Northern boundary of Kurukshetra and the Mahābhārata informs us that it lay between Taruntuka and Arantuka, the lakes of Rāma and Machakruka and that it was the northern sacrificial altar (Uttara-Vedi) of Brahman, [Keith and Macdonell: *Vedic Index* I. 169-70; *Mahābhārata* III, 83, 20408] Turghna and Taruntuka seem to have a phonetic connection with Turiva which was included in Bactriana according to Strabo. [Strabo: *Geography* (translated by Hamilton and Falcones) Vol II. PP. 251-253]

This land is now-a-days known as Turkestan, the stem 'Tur' of this word being reminiscent of Turghna and Taruntuka. Thus originally Kurukshetra stretched from Turkestan to the Khandava forest in Mid-India. Later on the boundaries of Kurukshetra were narrowed to the region lying between the streams of Sarasvatī and Drśadvatī. This marks the shifting of the scene of Aryan culture from Trans-Himālayan region to the heart of India.

menon of clouds being pierced by thunder and lightning and pouring forth accumulated torrents of rains. Following Yāska, Sāyaṇa interprets many passages of the Ṛgveda, that relate to the killing of Vṛtra, as signifying the piercing of clouds by lightning and the consequential falling of rain.¹

Besides these Nairuktas, there is the school of the aitiḥāsikas, which interprets this Indra-Vṛtra conflict as having taken place between two persons of these names one of whom was a god and the other a demon. This school of thought has become very popular in modern times with a band of distinguished scholars who sought to reconstruct the history of the rise and expansion of the Aryans by means of a critical and comparative study of early Aryan myths, languages and religions. To these scholars Indra seems to represent a typical Aryan chief, who led the hordes of Aryan invaders to victory against their enemies, whose traits and characteristics are typified in the concept of Vṛtra. About Indra, V. Gordon Childe writes that in this concept, "incidentally we see the earthly princes, whom Indra copies, generous to bards, bold to smite the dark-skinned Dasyus (aboriginals) lovers of strong drink, dicing and horse-racing—in a world with all the characteristics of a Teutonic hero in the Norse epic."² In the description of the wars of Indra preserved in many passages of the Ṛgveda Prof. Childe sees "a

1. (i) Ṛgveda III, 33, 6.

इन्द्रो अस्मा अररद्वज्रबाहुरपान्वृत्रं परिधिं नदीनाम् ।

Sāyaṇa's Comment :

नदीरस्मानरदत् । रदतिः खनतिकर्मा । अखनत् । कथमखनत् । उच्यते नदीनां शब्द-
करिणीनामपां परिधिं परितो निहितमुदकमन्तःकृत्वा । परितो वर्तमानमित्यर्थः । तादृशं
वृत्रं वृणोत्याकाशमिति वृत्रो मेघः । तं मेघमपाहन् जघान । तस्मिन् हत आपः पतिताः
ताभिर्गच्छन्तीभिर्वैद्यैः खाताः । एवं मेघहननद्वारेणाखनत् ॥

(ii) Ṛgveda II, 12, 3.

यो हत्वाहिमरिणात्सप्तसिन्धून्यो गा उदाजदपधा बलस्य ।

Sāyaṇa's Comment :

यः अहिं मेघं हत्वा मेघहननं कृत्वा सप्तसर्पणशीलाः सिन्धून् स्यन्दनशीला अपः
अरिणात् प्रैरयत् ।

2. V. Gordon Childe : *The Aryans* . p. 30.

picture of a young and vigorous race fresh from the mountains taking possession of the torrid planes of Northern India.¹ Here we are going to study in detail the myth of Indra-Vṛtra conflict from the Aitibāsika point of view and find out what light it sheds on the impact of the Aryans on the general course of Indian culture.

III

The Aitibāsika view of Vṛtra is supported by the fact that in many passages² of the R̥gveda as explained by Sāyaṇa, the word Vṛtra is used to denote an enemy in general. In these passages the use of the word 'Vṛtra' in plural shows that it is a general designation of a class of people rather than the proper name of any particular person. As Prof. Macdonell writes, "the use of Vṛtra in the plural as it is then always neuter can hardly be derived from a generalization of the proper name Vṛtra, but must be based on an earlier meaning such as, 'obstruction,' then, 'obstructor.'"³ Thus Vṛtras mean the enemies of the Aryans. But in some R̥ks Vṛtras are expressly distinguished from the generality of enemies, which comprises Dāsas or Dasyus

1. *Ibid* p 31.

2. (i) *R̥gveda* VI, 56, 2 उत घा स रथीतमः सख्या सत्पतिर्युजा । इन्द्रो वृत्राणि जिघ्रते ॥

Sāyaṇa comments on this passage as follows :

शत्रूणां हन्तृत्वेन प्रसिद्धस्तादृशः रथीतमः अतिशयेन रथी महारथः सत्पतिः सतां पालयिता एवंगुण इन्द्रः सख्या मित्रभूतेन पूष्ण युजा सहायभूतेन युक्तः सन्वृत्राणि शत्रून् जिघ्रते हन्ति ।

(ii) *R̥gveda* VI 57, 3 अजा अन्यस्य वह्नयो हरी अन्यस्य संभृताः ।

ताभ्यां वृत्राणि जिघ्रते ॥

Sāyaṇa's comment : स चेन्द्रस्ताभ्यां वृत्राणि शत्रून् जिघ्रते हन्ति ।

(iii) *R̥gveda* VII, 83, 9, वृत्राप्यन्यः समिधेषु जिघ्रते वृतान्यन्यो अमिरक्षते सदा ।

Sāyaṇa's comment : हे इन्द्रावरुणौ युवयोरन्य एक इन्द्रः वृत्राणि शत्रून् समिधेषु संग्रामेषु जिघ्रते हन्ति ।

3. A. A. Macdonell : *Vedic Mythology* p. 159.

and Aryans. In R̥gveda VII, 83, 1¹ for instance, Vṛtras are distinctly mentioned along with Dāsas and Aryans. Here, too, Sāyaṇa equates the word Vṛtra with śatru or enemy, which is evidently untenable in view of the aforesaid context of this passage. Vṛtra, here should be taken to denote a particular class of people as distinct from the Aryans and Dasyus.

This conclusion is corroborated by the names of the tribes Oraturae, and Varetatae which Megasthenes had noted in his Indika. MacCrindle identifies the Oraturae with the Rāthors and leaves the Varetatae unidentified. MacCrindle's identification is purely conjectural and defies all rules of phonetic changes. The sound 'R' does not change into 'o' in the Greek versions of Sanskrit words. For example, Megasthenes mentions a tribe Rarungae, which MacCrindle identifies with the Ronghi or Rhanga, now found on the banks of the Sutlej in the neighbourhood of Delhi. Here the initial 'ra' is retained in the greek version. Similarly in the words 'Palimbothra' and 'Odomboerae,' the Greek versions of Pātaliputra and Udumbara respectively, the 'r' sound is retained. Thus there is no warrant for inferring that in 'Oraturae' 'O' stands for 'r'. Rather, it stands for some such vowel sound as 'V.' Therefore the Sanskrit version of Oraturae would be Vṛtra. As for Varetatae, this is manifestly derived from Vṛta, the apabhraṣṭa version of Vṛtra. These two tribes were the remnants of the Vṛtras, who offered a heroic resistance to the Aryans at the dawn of Indian history. Their fighting trait and bellicose spirit remained undamped by the buffetings of fate up to the time of Megasthenes though their greatness, and "glory had departed by that time." As he writes; 'next are Oraturae, whose King has only ten elephants, though he has a very strong force of infantry. Next again are the Varetatae, subject to a King, who keeps no elephant but trusts entirely to his horse and foot.'² These people inhabited the south

-
1. दासा च वृत्रा हतमार्याणि च सुदासमिन्द्रावरुणावसावतम् ।

Sāyaṇa's Comment :

हे इन्द्रावरुणौ युवां दासा दासानि उपेक्षयितृणि च वृत्रा वृत्राणि आवरकानि शत्रुजातानि आर्याणि च कर्मानुष्ठानपराणि च शत्रुजातानि हतं हिंस्तम् ।

2. J. W. MacCrindle: *Ancient India as described by Megasthenes and Arrian* P. 149. (Chakurvartty and Chatterjee, Calcutta).

Western and central regions of India. Thus it is clear that the Vṛtras were a class of Indian people, who resisted the onset of the Aryans in India.

IV

As for the race and nationality of the Vṛtras we have to examine those passages of the R̥gveda, in which the synonym Dasyu is used for Vṛtra. In R̥gveda¹. VI. 23, 2 the word Dasyu is used to designate the foes vanquished by Indra beside the name of Vṛtra. In R̥gveda² I, 100 12 Indra is called 'Dasyuhan', the killer of Dasyu in place of 'Vṛtrahan,' the killer of Vṛtra and in R̥gveda³ I, 51, 5 the combat of Indra is said to have resulted in Dasyuhatyā. In Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa I, 6, 3, 13 Vṛtra is expressly called a Dasyu. While Indra was moving in pursuit of Vṛtra, he addressed Agni and Soma "ye belong to me and I belong to you! Why then do ye support that Dasyu against me? Come over to me!"⁴. Further more the Dasyus are described as noseless⁵ (anās, Vishishipra) as they had snubbed noses, which contrasted with the long and prominent noses of the Aryans⁶ and Vṛtra is also called broken-nosed (rujānās).

1. यद्वा दिवि पार्ये सुष्विमिन्द्र वृत्रहत्येऽवसि शूरसालौ ।
यद्वा दक्षस्य विभ्युषो अविभ्यदरन्धयः शर्घत इन्द्र दस्यून् ॥

2. स वज्रभृद् दस्युहा भीम उग्रः सहस्रचेताः शतनीथ कृन्वा ।

3. त्वं पिप्रोर्तृमणः प्रारुजः पुरः प्र ऋजिश्वानं दस्युहत्येष्वाविथ ।

4. Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, translated by Julius Eggeling in Sacred Books of the East series Vol. XII p. 166.

5. R̥gveda V, 29, 10

आनासो दस्यूरमृणो वधेन निदुर्योण आवृणङ् मध्रवाचः ।

see also R̥gveda V, 45, 6.

6. In R̥gveda II, 12, 6 Indra is described as having a prominent nose

युक्ताग्रान्णो योऽविता सुशिप्रः सुतसोमस्य स जनास इन्द्रः ।

The Aśvins are called Nāsatyas, which Yāska explains as नासिकाप्रभवः. This derivation of Nāsatyā from nāsikā indicates the prominent nasality of these gods,

This shows that the Vṛtras were Dasyus and that they had ethnic affinities with the snub-nosed Dravidians who constitute a large part of the population of India. As Macdonell and Keith have observed : "that the Dasyus were real people is shown by the epithet 'anās' applied to them in one passage of the R̥gveda V. 29, 10. The sense of this word is not absolutely certain. The pada text and Sāyaṇa, both take it to mean without face (an-ās), but the other rendering noseless (a-nās) is quite possible and would accord well with the flat-nosed aboriginals of the Dravidian type, whose language still persists among the Brāhmins who are found in the North-West. This interpretation would receive some support from Vṛtras being called, 'broken-nosed,' if this were the correct explanation of the obscure word (Rujā-nās)".¹

The word 'dasyu' signified the aboriginal peoples who inhabited the vast stretch of land from the Caspian Sea to the fringes of India. Meyer and Hillebrandt identified the Dasyus with the Dahae, "a tribe nearly akin to the Iranians in the Kirghiz—Turkman steppe, which extends from the Caspian Sea beyond the Yaxartes, now 'Syr-Darya,'"² The dasyus are also frequently mentioned in Avestan literature and Achaemenian inscriptions as Dainyu, Dakhyu and Dahyu. But no odium or bad sense is attached to this word in Iranian literature and inscriptions. About the use and meaning of the word Dasyu in Zoroastrian books Dr. Jehangir S. Tavadia writes : "the suggestion that the original meaning of this term (dasyu) was enemy from which was developed enemy people or enemy country is not convincing ; for in such a case the phrase 'aryanam dahyunam' of the countries or peoples of the Aryas, would be very strange in the mouth of the Avestic adorers. I think that the word meant people or country without any bad connotation originally, but it got associated with this odium when applied to the conquered people or natives by Vedic tribes."³ This sense of the word Dasyu is also preserved

1. Macdonell and Keith : *Vedic Index* Vol. I p. 347.

2. (i) Meyer : *Geschichte des Alterthums* Vol. I
Section 4 25 p. 525

(ii) Hillebrandt : *Vedische Mythologie* Vol. I pp. 94-116

3. *Vishvabhūratī Quarterly* (Dec.) 1940, I thank the editor for communicating to me this quotation.

2 [*Annals, B. O. R. I.*]

in the inscriptions of the Achaemenian emperors of Iran. There,¹ it denotes countries or peoples like Pārs or Persia and Māda or Media. In modern Persian, this word "Dahyu," survives as "Dih" and means a 'village.' From modern Persian, this word has entered in the vernaculars of North India in its plural form "Dihat," meaning countryside.

Thus the word Dasyu or Dahyu, originally signifying a particular people inhabiting the Indo-Iranian world became a common noun meaning a country or people in old Iranian. This shows the extent to which the Aryans of Iran adopted the aboriginal culture of those regions. This shows also the reason why the Dahāe of Caspian Sea regions were described as akin to the

1. Cp. the use of the word 'Dasyu' in the Behistun Inscriptions of Darius : edited by Sukumar Sen : *Old Persian Inscriptions* pp. 12-17.

- (i) Pasāva drauga dahyuvā Vasaiyabava utā Pārsaiy utā mādaiy utā aniyāxuvā dahyūsuṇvā.

Its Sanskrit version is as follows :

पश्चा— अवत् द्रोणः दस्यौ—आवशेऽभवत् उत् पार्से उत् मादे उत् अन्यासु
आ दस्युषु आ ।

Its English version is as follows :

"Afterwards rebellion in the land was rampant whether in Persia or in Media or in other countries."

- (ii) Pasāva gaumāta hya magušadinā Kanbujiyam utā Pārsam utā mādam utā aniyā dahyāva.

Its Sanskrit version is as follows :

पश्चा—अवत् गोमातः स्यः मगुः अजिनात् कम्बुजियम् उत् पार्से उत् मादे उत् अन्याः
दस्यून् ।

Its English version is as follows :

"After then Gometes, the Magian, won from Cambyses both Persia and Media and other countries." But in one solitary instance the word Dahyu particularly signifies the Dahae of Trans-caspiana [cp. the Persepolis inscription of Xerxes] This is an exceptional passage which hints at the original import of this word. According to Kent this name survived in the Dahistan of Medieval times which was situated to the east of the Caspian Sea [Kent *Language* Vol. XIII P. 298]

Iranians by ancient and modern writers. But in India, the original sense of the word remained intact. Here it continued to denote the aboriginal peoples whom the Aryans met and conquered on their advance into India. The Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (VII, 18) plainly and distinctly understands by the word Dasyu, the aboriginal races among which it includes the Andhras, Pundras, Śabarās, Pulindas and Mutibas. This Brāhmaṇa refers to the curse of Vis'vāmitra on his disobedient sons that they would become of low castes such as the Andhras, Śabarās etc., who, in consequence, became the Dasyus. Keith translates the passage under reference as follows :

“Vis'vāmitra had a hundred and one sons, fifty older than Madhuchandas fifty younger. Those that were older did not think this right. Then he cursed saying 'your offspring shall inherit the ends of the earth.' These are the (people) the Andhras, Puṇḍras, Śhabarās, Pulindas and Mutibas, who live in large numbers beyond the borders; most of the Dasyus are the descendants of Vis'vāmitra.”¹

Thus it is clear that according to the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa the Dasyus are the aboriginal peoples of India, who lived beyond the borders of Aryan settlements.* The physiology, religion and culture of these Dasyus or aboriginal peoples are hinted at in several passages of the Ṛgveda. There they are described as flat-nosed² dark-skinned³ and phallus-worshipping⁴ aboriginals

1. A. B. Keith: *Rgveda Brāhmaṇas* (Harvard Oriental Series) P, 307.

2. *Rgveda* V, 29, 10. अनासो दस्यूरमृगो वधेन निदुर्योण आवृणङ् मृध्रवाचः ।

*That the Dasyus lived in the Punjab is avouched by the fact that the name of a Tehsil and Pargana in Hoshiyarpur district is “Dasūya” which is evidently a reminiscence of “Dasyu” settlement.

3. *Rgveda* I, 130, 8

इन्द्रः समस्तु यजमानमार्यैः.....मनवे शासद्व्रतान् त्वचं कृष्णमरन्ध्रयत् ।

Rgveda II, 20, 7

स वृत्रहा इन्द्रः कृष्णयोनीः पुरन्दरो दासीरैरयत्

Rgveda II, 12, 4

यो दासं वणीमधरं गुहाकः ।

4. *Rgveda* VII, 21, 5

स शर्वदर्यो विषुणस्य जन्तोर्मा शिश्रदेवा अपि गुर्कतं नः ।

who are unhuman, irreligious¹ and devoid of rites² in the eyes of the Aryans.

The Aryans attacked these dasyus and killed them in tens of thousands. In *R̥gveda*³ IV, 30, 15, Indra is said to have killed thirty thousand Dāsas and in *R̥gveda*⁴ II, 13, 8-9 he is reported to have captured one thousand Dasyus. This massacre was like those wholesale holocausts, which blood-thirsty invaders from the North-West such as Nādirshāh or Taimur made of peaceloving inhabitants of the bountiful land of India.

V

After having, thus, shown that the Vṛtras were dasyus, the aboriginal people of India, let us proceed to study the epithet and synonym 'Asura' which is often used for Vṛtra. In *R̥gveda* Vṛtra is described as the shaker of the world and the epithet 'dodhataḥ' is often applied to him. In these passages Sāyaṇa interprets Vṛtra as Asura.⁵ In some other passages Vṛtra is

1. *R̥gveda* I, 51, 1

विजानीह्यार्यान् ये च दस्यवो बर्हिष्मते रन्ध्रया शासद्व्रतान् ।

R̥gveda IX, 41, 1-2

प्र ये गावो न भूर्णयस्त्वेषा अयासो अक्रमुः ।

घ्नन्तः कृष्णामप त्वचं ॥

..... । साव्हांसो दस्युमव्रतं ।

2. *R̥gveda* X, 22, 8

अकर्मा दस्युरस्मि नो अमन्तुरन्यव्रतो अमानुषः ।

त्वं तस्यामित्रहन् वधर्दासस्य दम्भय ॥

3. *R̥gveda* IV, 30 15

उत दासस्य वर्चिनः सहस्राणि षडावधीः ।

अधि पञ्च प्रवीरिव ॥

4. *R̥gveda* II, 13, 9

शतं वा यस्य दश साकमाद्य एकस्य श्रुष्टौ यद्ध चोदमाविथ ।

अरज्जौ दस्यून् त्समुनव्दभीतये सुप्राव्यो अभवः सास्युक्थ्यः ॥

5. *R̥gveda* II, 21, 4 अनानुदो वृषभो दोघतः ।

Sāyaṇa's comment : दोघतः दुधिर्हिसाकर्मा हिसंकस्यासुरस्य वधो हन्ता ।

R̥gveda VIII, 6, 6, विचिद् वृत्रस्य दोघतो वज्रेण शतपर्वणा शिरो बिभेद वृष्णिना ॥

Sāyaṇa's Comment : वृत्रस्य चिदावरकस्यापिदोघतः अत्यर्थं जगत्कम्पयतोऽ-सुरस्य

used as a title of the asura, Sambara. In *Rgveda*¹ II, 12, 11 Sambara is described as 'ahi' or serpent, which is as we shall presently see a famous epithet of Vṛtra. "Shambara is employed," as Prof. Roth writes, "at a later date to designate an enemy in general and in particular an enemy of Indra, Vṛtra,...In the passages which speak of Divodāsa, mention is made of his deliverance, by the aid of the gods, from the oppressor Shambara."² In epic literature also Vṛtra figures as an asura or Vṛtrāsura.³

In early Indian literature the word 'asura' does not mean an evil being or enemy in general; it signifies a distinct and particular people having their own religion, culture, literature, science and language. The religion of the asuras is described as consisting of charms, spells and exorcisms or māyā and Kṛtyā.⁴ Their magic is described and referred to very often in the Vedas. In *Atharvaveda*, in a hymn for curing penial debility, a person tied with ropes is described as demonstrating the feats of asura-magic by expanding his body and changing his shapes like Proteus.⁵ The wisdom of the asuras is famous in the Vedas. In *Atharvaveda*, Āsurimedhā or the wisdom of the asuras is put on

1. *Rgveda* II, 12, 11 यः शम्बरं पर्वतेषु क्षियन्तं चत्वारिभ्यां शरद्यन्वविन्दत् ।
ओजायमानं यो अहिं जघान दातुं शयानं स जनास
इन्द्रः ॥

Sāyana's Comment : बलमाचरन्तमहिमाहन्तारं दातुं दानवं शम्बरमसुरं जघान
हतवान् स इन्द्रो etc.

2. Roth : *über Litteratur und Geschichte des Veda* P, 116.

3. *Mahābhārata* V. 10, 19

ऋषिवाक्यं निशम्याथ स वृत्रः सुमहाबलः ।

उवाच तौस्तदा सर्वान्प्रणम्य शिरसासुरः ॥ Nirutka II, 5

त्वाष्टौऽसुर इत्यैतिहासिकाः

4. *Atharvaveda* VIII, 3, 5, 9 याः कृत्या आसुरीः ।

see also *Rgveda* X, 124. 5; *Rgveda* X, 138, 3.

5. *Atharvaveda* VI, 72, 1 यथासितः प्रथयते वशो अनु वृष्षि कृष्णसुरस्य
मायया एवा ते शेषः सहसायमकोऽङ्गेनाङ्गं संसमकं
कृणोतु ॥

a par with the wisdom of the Ṛbhus and ṛṣis.¹ Āsuri-Vidyā or the Veda of the asuras is referred to in sūtra-literature.² Āsuri Science is also frequently mentioned in Atharvaveda. The Asuras are described as highly proficient in the techniques and working of iron (ayōjālāḥ). Their characteristic feature is said to be the iron-paraphernalia that they possessed.^{3*} Like their magic, their language possessed an individuality of its own and is noticed as such in Indian literature.⁴ Their marital custom of paying the bride's price is mentioned in Indian law-books.⁵ Their practice of adorning dead bodies, which was also prevalent among the Egyptians, is mentioned in the *Chāndogya upaniṣad* (VIII 8, 5) and their custom of hiding them in enclosed cemeteries is referred to in the *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa* (XIII, 8). Their art of war which consisted in robbing lands, goods, sons, wives etc. is implied in the conception of Asura-vijayi set forth in the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya (XII, 1). Their priests are referred to in Brāhmaṇa sacerdotal books. The Baudhāyana-Dharma-Sūtra remarks that a branch of Kās'yapa gotra was known as āsurāyaṇa.⁶ In the lists of Brāhmaṇa teachers given at the end of the tenth book *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* and the sixth chapter of the *Brhadāranyakopaniṣad* we come across the names of Āsuri, Āsurāyaṇa and Prāśniputra, Āsurivāsuri which are reminiscent of Asura

1. *Atharvaveda* VI, 11, 108, 3

यां मेधामृमवो विदुर्यां मेधामसुराः विदुः ।

ऋषयो भद्रां मेधां यां विदुस्तां मय्यविशयामसि ॥

2. *Ās'valāyana-s'rauta-sūtra* X 7, 7

3. *Atharvaveda* XIX, 7, 66, 1

अयोजाला अमुरा मायिनोऽयस्मयैः पाशैरङ्कितो ये चरन्ति ।

*The modern tribes of Asur in Chota Nagpur plateau are very good iron smelters.

4. *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa* III, 2, 1, 18-24

असुर्या हेषा वाक्

Pātañjala Mahābhāṣya (Kielhorn's edition) Vol. I P 2.

तेऽसुरा हेलयो हेलय इति कुर्वन्तः परावभूवुः । तस्माद्ब्राह्मणेन न म्लेच्छित्तवै नापमाषितवै । म्लेच्छो ह वा एषः यदपशब्दः । म्लेच्छा मा भूमेत्यर्थेयं व्याकरणम् ।

5. *Āpastambiya-dharma-sūtra*, 5, 12-1.

शक्तिविषयेण द्रव्याणि दत्त्वा वेहेरन् स आसुरः ।

6. *Baudhāyana-dharma-sūtra* (Bibliotheca Indica edition)

Vol, III P. 450

origin. [H. C. Raychoudhury of *Political History of Ancient India* P. 43] In Iranian traditions also the priestly class is described as having descended from the asuras. Athravān is said to be the son of asura Varuṇa. Thus it is certain that the asuras were a people having their own culture rather than a class of mythical demons and goblins.

These asuras have been identified with the Assyrians with fair certainty. The Assyrian monarchs attached the title 'asura' or 'assur' to their names as is known from such names as Assur-Banipal and Assur-Nazir-pal found in Assyrian historical records. The greatest god of the Assyrians was 'Assur' and the city in which the greatest temple of asur was situated was also known as 'Assur'. These Assyrians rose to great eminence after the fall of Babylon and spread their sway over a large part of Western Asia. Their inroads and expeditions reached upto Iran and India. Tilgath-Pilezar I annexed the Median hills to Assyrian Kingdom and Queen Sammuramat, the mother, or, according to some historians, the wife, of Adad Nirāri (811-783 B. C.) led an expedition into India. But, as the Greek historian, Nearchus writes, the Indians offered a desperate resistance and squashed the forces of Sammurat with the result that she fled back with only 20 surviving soldiers of her army.* This expansion of the Assyrians towards Iran and India resulted in the sprinkling of Assyrian people and culture in these countries.

Besides this, there were marked cultural affinities among the peoples of Mohenjodaro and Harappa and Sumer and Babylon. Many of the features of the Indus valley culture, such as the use of brick for building the internments of contracted bodies in brick-cist-graves, the shell-inlays, the mace-heads and pestles, have the most exact analogues in early sumerian levels in

*Cp. Pandit Sunderlal : *The Empire of Ancient Assyria* (Prāchīna assuryā Kā Sāmrājya) in Hindi in Vishvavāṇi (May 1946) P. 332

The historicity of this invasion is doubtful for Megasthenes observes that Sammurat (Semiramis) had died before the alleged Indian invasion. It is likely that the invasion was mooted by her but her sudden death prevented its execution [for references see Arrian : *Indika* I, 3 *Anabasis* VI, 24, 2-3; Strabo : *Geography* XV 1, 6].

the Tigris-Euphrates Valley. The beautiful stamp seals engraved with figures of Bos Primigenius and unicorns and the curious symbols of their legends, likewise, have good Sumerian counterparts and so, to a less striking degree, have the clay-models of rams and the female figurines. Besides these cultural affinities, there are also very pronounced ethnic affinities between the peoples of India and Sumer. Dr. Hall pointed out that the Dravidians of India resemble in anthropological type the Sumerians of Mesopotamia and went to the extent of suggesting that the mysterious Sumerians came from India.¹ These affinities and connections vouch for a prominent Sumerian element in proto-Indian peoples and culture. When the tide of Aryan migrations turned towards Iran and India Assyria had taken over the cultural and political supremacy of Sumer. Some bands of the Aryans came in contact with the Assyrians in course of their movements and migrations and some of them appear to have lived as the vassals of the Assyrian Kings for sometime. In the language of Assyria the word for a vassal is "ishāku" and the Assyrians in the initial stages of their political development acted as the "ishākkus" or vassals of the Babylonian Kings. It looks likely that some roving bands of the Aryans came to be known as "ishākkus" on account of their being the vassals of the Assyrians and on entering into India were remembered in Indian historical traditions as "ikṣhvākus", the probable Sanskrit version of "ishākkus"*

1. Hall : *Ancient History of the Near East* P. 173

*The 'Ikshvākus' figured among the hordes of the Libyans who invaded Egypt during the fifth year of the Pharaoh Mine-ptah the son of Ramses II. The Egyptian records of 1229 B. C. describe them as "Ekwesh" or Akauasha who have been identified with the "Akhaioi" or Achaeans of Homer. In Pali word 'Okkāka' which is the equivalent of Ishvaku, Kā, is a suffix and the main word is 'okka', which agrees very closely with the Greek Akhaioi or Achaeans of Homer. Harit Krishna Deb identifies the "Ekwesh" with the "yakshus" who formed part of the confederacy of ten kings which fought with King Sudās on the banks of Ravi and are mentioned in *Rgveda* VII, 18 [See H. K. Deb: *Vedic India and Minoan Men* pp. 177-184 *Stūdio Indo-Iranica*, Ehren-gabe für wilhelm Geiger Leipzig (1933), now reprinted in *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal* Vol. XIV (1948) no 2 10137 et. seq.] These yakshus or Ikshus or Ishvākus appear to have been the names of one and the same people.

It is highly significant that many personal names and place-names of ancient Iran bear reminiscences of the names of Ikshvāku princes [see my paper *Raghuvarṇa and Iran* to be shortly published]. These Aryans adopted a great deal of Assyrian Culture and called their gods "asuras" after the Assyrian style. In Iran the greatest god was called "Asuramazda" or "Ahuramazdā". In some passages of the Ṛgveda 'asura' stands for a powerful and beneficent god.¹ But as fresh hordes of Aryan invaders, whose leader and god was Indra, swooped down the frontiers of India, these ideas were totally rejected and asura was used as a term of calumny and reproach to mean the most despicable of enemies, the demon.² The Wars of the Aryans and Asuras, who lived in India, are referred to in several passages of the Ṛgveda. Indra is said to have shattered the towns and forts (pura) and foiled the strategy and magic (māyā) of the asuras, Pipru and Varchin³ and Varuṇa is reported to have baffled the asuras by making their science ineffective.⁴

1. *Ṛgveda* VII, 65, 2 ता हि देवानामसुराः said of Mitra and Varuṇa.

Ṛgveda V, 83, 6 दिवो नो वृष्टिं मरुतो ररीध्वं प्रपिन्वत वृष्णो अश्वस्य धारा ।
अवीडेतेन स्तनयित्नुने ह्यपो निषिञ्चन्नसुरः पिता नः said of Parjanya ॥

It is significant to note that Sāyaṇa here equates the word 'asura' with 'deva' or god.

अपः अम्भांसि निषिञ्चन् स देवः असुर उदकानां निरसितापि सन् नोऽस्माकं पिता पालकश्च etc.

In later times also the 'asuras' were known as 'devas' of yore 'Pūrvadeva.' In *Amara Koṣa* Pūrvadeva is a synonym of asura.

असुरा दैत्यदैतेयदनुजेन्द्रारिदानवाः । शुक्रशिष्या दितिसुताः पूर्वदेवाः सुरद्विषः ॥

Amarakoṣa I-12

2. *Ṛgveda* VIII, 85, 9.

तिग्मायुधं मरुतामनीकं कस्त इन्द्र प्रतिवज्रं दधर्ष ।
अनायुधासो असुरा अदेवाश्चक्रेण तां अपवप ऋजीषिन् ॥

3. *Ṛgveda* X, 138, 3

दृष्ट्वानि पिप्रोऽसुरस्य मायिनो इन्द्र व्यास्यच्चक्रिणां ऋजिश्चना ।

4. *Ṛgveda* X, 124, 5

निर्माया उ त्वे असुरा अभूवन्त्वं च मां वरुण कामयासे ।
ऋतेन राजन्नृतं विविचन् मम राष्ट्रस्याधिरत्यमेहि ॥

An account of the war of the Aryans and Asuras, devāsura-sangrāma, is preserved in Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa.¹ It says that the Devas and the Asuras both sprang from Prajāpati and entered on their fathers' inheritance. The gods obtained the mind and the Asuras, the speech; further, the gods got the heaven and the Asuras the earth. Thereafter the Devas contrived to deprive the Asuras of their speech and earth and baffled and killed them. There is also a significant passage in the Mahābhārata², which refers to the war of Indra and Asura-mada. It narrates that at the sacrifice of Śaryāti, Cyavana paralyzed Indra and created Asuramada, who rushed forward to devour Indra, who, then, allowed the Aśvins to become partakers of Soma. Here Asuramada appears to refer to the Iranian god Ahurmazda and his fight with Indra alludes to the wars of Mazdayasnians and Daêvayasnians described in the gathas of the zindavesta. After the first wave of Indo-Iranian Aryan invasion had subsided and merged itself in the culture of the Dasyus and Asuras, the second wave rose and swamped the whole land including the earlier Aryans, who had identified themselves, to all intents and purposes, with the aboriginal peoples. In the eyes of these later Aryans the earlier Aryans were as much detestable as the Dasyus and Asuras themselves. Hence they poured the vials of their wrath on them with the ruthlessness, characteristic of all nomadic invaders. These later Aryans, vilified as the Daêvas in Iranian literature and glorified as Devas in Indian traditions dominated the land and culture of India. Therefore, the Asuras were always looked down upon in India and the Aryan poets implored their gods to smite them along with the Dasyus.³

VI

It is clear from the above discussion that the race-stock of the Vṛtras partook of Dasyu and Asura elements, which were promi-

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1. III, 2, 1 Eggeling's translation (SBE) Part II P. 32
 2. III, 124-125 ; I0378-10386 ff.
 3. *Atharvaveda* X, 3, 11 स मे शत्रून्वि बाधतामिन्द्रो दस्यूनिवासुरान्
Atharvaveda IX, 1, 2, 17

येन देवा असुरान् प्राणुदन्त येनेन्द्रो दस्यूनधर्मं तमो निनाय ।

ment in proto-Indian population. It is necessary now to find out the habitât and country of the Vṛtras in order to determine their identity with precision. In this connection, it is noteworthy that in the R̥gveda Vṛtra is associated with the mountains. In R̥gveda¹ VIII, 3, 19 he is described as lying on a summit whence Indra cast him down. In some ṛks the mountain is said to be within the belly of Vṛtra. This shows that the Vṛtras lived on or near some mountains. In order to determine the locality of these mountains we should study the geographical data contained in the R̥gveda.

To begin with the tribes mentioned in the R̥gveda, we should note that most of these tribes have been located in Afghanistan and Iran by Greek historians Paṇis (λαṇροι) Sṛṇējaya (Ζάπα-yyai) Mṛdh (Μάρδοι) and Śiva (Σίβοι), all belong to these regions; the pakthas are the modern Pakhtoon or pathans who speak the Pushto language; the Bṛṣaya are the Barsacutus mentioned by Arrian and the Pārāvatas are the Parautai referred to by Ptolemy 'or Parvatas² described by Kālidāsa and Pāṇini. Similarly the Pṛthus and Parshus³ are the Parthians and Persians and the Mīḍha or Ājamiḍha,⁴ a tribe of the Punjab noted by

1. R̥gveda VIII, 3, 19 निरिन्द्र बृहतीभ्यो वृत्रं धनुभ्यो अस्फुरः
2. Pāṇini: *Aṣṭādhyāyīsūtrapāṭha*, Gaṇapāṭha under IV, 2, 45.
Kālidāsa : *Raghuvamśa* IV, 77.

तत्र जन्यं रघोर्घोरं पर्वतीयैर्गणैर्भूत् ।
नाराचक्षेपणीयाद्मनिष्पेषोत्पातितानलम् ।

3. Parśus are referred to as 'Bursua' or 'Pursua' in an inscription of the Assyrian king Shalmanesar II (Z. A. Ragozin : *Media* P. 274)
4. Mīḍhas are referred to as Madā in the same Assyrian record. Pāṇini mentions the Ājamiḍhas as a unit in the confederacy of the Sālvas, residing round Alwar (Pāṇini IV, 1, 173). Varāhamihira in his *Bṛhatsaṃhitā* (ch XIV) mentions a colony of the Meedhas (Medes) in India. In Indian literature the Maga-Brāhmaṇas are frequently referred to whom Herodotus

Pāṇini and the Keshins are the Medes and Kassites, who figure among the earliest hordes of Aryan invaders. All these and many other tribes belong to the regions north of the Indian frontiers. Even the homeland of the Aryans, Āryāvata or Airyāna-Vaēja of Iranian literature or Ariane mentioned by Strabo was situated beyond the frontiers of India. The eastern boundary of Ariane was the Indus and the southern, the Indian ocean from the mouths of Indus to the Persian gulf. The Western limit is said to be an imaginary line drawn from the Caspian gates to Carmania. As late as the time of Kalhaṇa, this tract of land was known as Āryāṇaka.¹

Besides these tribes, the rivers and mountain-passes of Indo-Afghan frontiers are frequently referred to in the Ṛgveda. The names of the Kubhā (Kābul river), the Kramu (Kuram river), the Gomatī (gomal river) and the Sarasvatī or the Haraqaiti or Helmund, repeatedly occur in Ṛg-vedic hymns.² The famous battle of Divodāsa with the Paṇis, Br̥ṣayas and Pārāvatas took place on the bank of the Helmund, as Hillebrandt has ably pointed out.³ Like the rivers, many of the Himālayan passes, such as the Gomal pass,⁴ Nawak pass and Kuram pass, are mentioned

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describes as one of the six tribes of the Medes. [*Brahma-purāṇa* 20, 71-72. *Agnipurāṇa* 119, 18-21 *Kūrma-Purāṇa* Pūrvabhāga) 48, 36-38 *Bhaviṣya-Purāṇa* I, 139, 73] Harit Kriṣṇa Deb identified Mede with Madra (H. K. Deb: *Mede and Madra, Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* (1925 P. 205). But this identification is unsound in view of the fact that the Medes are known in India by the name of Meedha.

1. *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* IV, 367

2. *Rgveda* X, 75, 6 तं सिन्धो कुभया गोमति कुमु मेहन्वा सरथं याभिरीयसे ।

3. *Vedische Mythologie* Vol. 1 pp, 97. ft

4. *Rgveda* VI, 56, 3

उतादः परुषे गवि सूरश्चक्रं हिरण्ययम् ।

न्यैरदधीतमः ।

(Continued on the next page)

in some hymns. Further, Indra is said to have fought some of his bitter contests in the mountainous terrain. He searched out Sambara after forty years of hot pursuit in the mountains. He

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In this obscure passage the meaning of the phrase परुषे गवि is quite uncertain. Sāyaṇa's idea is very hazy. Following Yāska he writes : परुषे परुषमिति पर्ववति भास्वति वा गवि । गच्छतीति गौरादित्यः । Thus he means by 'Paruṣe gavi' 'in the brilliant sun' and takes the passage to signify that "the warrior Pūṣan moved his wheel (chariot) in the brilliant sun." This is quite absurd and meaningless. Roth, Muir and Delbrück translate 'Paruṣe gavi' as through "the speckled cloud" and take the passage to mean that "he (Pūṣan) has guided there the golden wheel through the curled train of clouds, the excellent driver." This interpretation is also forced, since the meaning "cloud" assigned to 'go' is far-fetched and unwarranted. Moreover, the present passage refers to the Martial exploit of Pūṣan and the use of 'Paruṣe gavi', in the locative case, points to the place, where the warrior, Pūṣan, exhibited it. Evidently, it is the name of some place where Pūṣan fought and displayed his martial feats. Now, Gomatī is the name of a river in the R̥gveda and has been identified with the Gomal. Hence 'go' signifies the land through which the river 'gomatī' flows. It is the region round and including the Gomal pass, the 'go' prefix being retained intact up till now. Thus the present passage would mean that "the warrior, the excellent fighter of the chariots, had moved his golden wheel (chariot) in the undulated terrain (Paruṣe) round the Gomal Pass (gavi)."

1. R̥gveda I, 143. 4

यमेरिरे भृगवो विश्ववेदसं नाभा पृथिव्या भुवनस्य मज्जना ।
अग्निं तं गीर्भिर्हिनुहि स्व आ दमे य एको वस्यो वरुणो न राजति ॥

In this passage, Sāyaṇa and following him the modern scholars, take the word 'nābha' as a variant of 'Nābhi' or 'navel' and translate the phrase 'nābhā Pṛthivyāḥ' as 'the navel of the earth' or the 'sacrificial altar.' Sāyaṇa writes : तस्याः पृथिव्याः नाभौ उत्तरवेद्यां भुवनस्य भूतजातस्य मज्जना बलेन निमित्तेन आ आभिमुख्येन ईरिरे स्थापितवन्तः. But this interpretation is forced and to take 'nābha' as a variant of 'nābhi' and 'nābhā' as an irregular locative of it is unwarranted. Nābha or nābhāka is a place-name occurring in the inscriptions of Aśoka. Bühler identified

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also killed Rauhiṇa, as he tried to climb up the mountains to heaven¹. In *Rgveda* (II, 12, 11) Viṣṇu is said to have conquered the northern homeland (uttaram sadhastham) for the Aryans by encompassing the whole land in his three steps.² Here, the three steps of Viṣṇu refer probably to the three expeditions of the Aryans in Parthia (Pārthivāni rajāmsi). This reference to the northern homeland shows that the northern countries were within the ken of the Aryans and the reminiscence of their exploits in Parthia was fresh in their minds when they

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Nābhākā with nābhākapura, placed by the Brahmapurāṇa in Uttara-Kuru territory in trans-Himālayan regions and H. C. Seth identified it with the Hindukush mountains. (*Indian Historical Quarterly* XIII No. 3) Dr. Seth identified the nābhākapaṅktis of Ashoka's inscriptions with the Pamir plateaux. Should this identification be correct, we would find in the present passage an allusion to the nāwākpass. Since the name of this pass is derived from the regions surrounding it, we should note that 'Nābhā' in the present passage means this territory. The passage would, then, mean :
The Bhrgus lighted the sacred fire in Nawak-pass region.'

1. *Rgveda* II, 12, 11-12.

यः शम्बरं पर्वतेषु क्षियन्तं चत्वारिदशं शरद्यन्वविन्दत् ।

and यो रौहिणमस्फुरद्वज्राद्दुर्वामारोहन्तं स जनास इन्द्रः ।

2. *Rgveda* I, 154. 1

विष्णोर्नु कं वीर्याणि प्रवोचं यः पार्थिवानि विममे रजांसि ।

योऽस्कभायदुतरं सधस्थं विचक्रमाणस्त्रयोहगायः ॥

The three steps of Viṣṇu are taken by the Nairuktas to mean the three periods of the sun's course-his rise, culmination and setting [Wilson: *Introduction to the Rigveda Samhita* pp. 25-26] This view is also expressed by Durgācārya in his commentary of the Nirukta of Yāska. But Aurnavābha, a predecessor of Yāska, holds that Viṣṇu literally and physically in the past stepped over the earth, horizon and sky and in his ascent he stepped at the Viṣṇupāda on the Gaya-peak [K. P. Jayaswal *Indian Antiquary* 1918 March P. 84] It is significant to note in this connection that in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (V, 2, 5 2-3) we have the remarkable statement that

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entered into India.* From the mention of northern places, tribes and countries in Vedic hymns, Brunnhofer¹ infers that the scene in the R̥gveda is laid in Afghanistan and Iran, rather than in India and Hillebrandt² holds that some hymns of the R̥gveda, especially the sixth maṇḍala, seem to have been composed, when the Aryans were occupying some parts of Iran. Thus it is certain that the mountains referred to in connection with Vṛtra are the Himālayan ranges of the North-West,

A further hint as to the habitat of the Vṛtras is afforded by the remark made in many hymns of the R̥gveda, that Vṛtra controlled the waters of Saptasindhus and Indra wrested them from him.³ According to Sāyaṇa⁴, the Sapta-sindhus refer to the Gaṅgā and Yamunā and other rivers of the Gangetic Valley. This view is quite untenable, since in the first place

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men are Viṣṇus." It is thus certain that some Vedic traditions regarded Viṣṇu as a historical personage rather than as a mythical being and considered the episode of his three steps as referring to his military expeditions against the enemies of the Aryans.

* It is note-worthy that Varuṇa is associated with Śuśā the famous city of Elan and a famous city of the Achaemenians empire in an astronomical chapter (124) of the *Matsya Purāṇa*. There Śuśā is called शूषा वारुणी and वरुणस्य पुरी रम्या ।

This shows the association of the Vedic Aryans with Trans-Generic regions, [Harit Kṛiṣṇa Deb: *Vedic India and the Middle East* J. R. A. S. B. (1948) P. 128].

1. *Arische Urzeit* (1910) 2 *Vedische Mythologie* I, PP. 97 ff.

2. (i) *R̥gveda* X, 89, 7 आरदन्न सिन्धून्

(ii) *R̥gveda* II, 33, 6 इन्द्रो अस्माँ अरदन्नवाहुरपान्वृत्रं परिधिं नदीनाम्

(iii) *R̥gveda* II, 12, 3 यो हत्वाहिमरिणात्सप्तसिन्धून् यो गा उदाजदपश्चा वलस्य

(iv) *R̥gveda* VII, 49, 1.

समुद्रज्येष्ठाः सलिलस्य मथ्यात्पुनाना यन्त्यनिविशमानाः

इन्द्रो या वज्री वृषभो रराद ता आपो देवीरिह मामवन्तु ॥

3. Sāyana's comment on the above passage (*R̥gveda* II. 13, 3.) सप्त सर्पणाशीलाः सिन्धून् स्यन्दनशीला अपः अरिणात् प्रैरयत । यद्वा सप्त गंगायमुनाया मुख्या नदीररिणात् ।

the land watered by the Ganges is hardly known with precision to the Vedic Aryans, and in the second, the 'seven rivers' technically and particularly refer to the river Indus and its main tributaries, which flow through the Punjab. The Gaṅgā and Yamunā are undoubtedly mentioned in the famous Nadisūkta of the R̥gveda (X, 75), but no particular significance is attached to them, while fully half of the verses are devoted to the glorification of the Sindhu or Indus, which, "flashing, sparkling and gleaming, in her majesty, the unconquerable, the most abundant of streams, beautiful as a handsome spotted mare, tolls her waters over the levels."¹ In fact, the Indus played such an important part in the life of the Vedic Aryans that they elevated it to the pedestal of a god and treated it on an equal footing with Mitra, Varuṇa and Dyaus.² The long association of the Aryans with the Indus is also manifest from the fact that the word "Sindhu" passed in Vedic language as a common noun meaning a river.³ Thus, we see, that in the R̥gveda the Indus occupies that place of sanctity and reverence, which the Ganges does in later Hindu literature. As Max Müller has written: In the Veda the stage on which the life of the ancient kings and poets is acted is the valley of the Indus and the Punjab, as it is now called, the Saptasindhavaḥ of the Vedic poets. The land watered by the Ganges is

1. *R̥gveda* X, 75, 7.

ऋजीत्येनी रुशती महित्वा परि ज्रयाँसि भरते रजाँसि ।
अदब्ध्या सिन्धुरपसामपस्तमाञ्ज्वा न चित्रा वपुषीव दर्शता ॥

This is, one of the finest descriptions of a river in the whole range of Indian literature.

2. *R̥gveda* I. 115, 6.

अद्या देवा उदिता मूर्यस्य निरहंसः पिपृता निरवद्यात् ।
तन्नो मित्रो वरुणो मामहन्तामदितिः सिन्धुः पृथिवी उत यौः ॥

3. *R̥gveda* I, 143, 3.

अस्य त्वेषा अजरा अस्य भानवः सुसंदूशः सुप्रतीकस्य सुद्युतः ।
भावक्षसो अत्यर्कुने सिन्धवोऽग्ने रेजन्ते अससन्तो अजराः ॥

In this passage Ludwig takes 'Sindhavaḥ' to mean 'rivers' and Grassmann, Roth and Sāyaṇa take it in a metaphorical sense and translate it as "flame-streams" or "rivers of light."

hardly known and the whole of the Deccan seems not to have been discovered." ¹

The myth of releasing the Captive Waters of the Sapta-sindhus from the hold of Vṛtra relates to the Aryan conquest of the Punjab. These riparian lands were occupied by the Vṛtras and the Aryan invaders led by their chiefs, wrested them by defeating their residents, in wars. Thus it is clear, that the Vṛtras inhabited the Indus-valley areas, the river beds of the Punjab and the North-Western spurs of the Himālayas, where the Brahuis live at present. They lived there in peace and prosperity, founded cities and forts and developed an advanced urban culture, whose traces are now left in the ruins of the ancient sites of Mohenjodaro and Harappa. When the invasions of the Aryans began to sweep in wave after wave, they tried to withstand and repel them, but fell before the brunt of the invader's sword.

VII

It is clear from the above discussion that the Vṛtras belonged to the Punjab and the North-Western regions. It is necessary to study now their religion and culture to find out their true identity. In this connection, it is noteworthy that in the Ṛgveda Vṛtra is often referred to by his epithet or synonym 'Ahi' or Serpent. ² In Iranian traditions also Vṛtra is famous by his name Ahi, which has become Aji in Zend by a process of Phonetic change. His role in the Avesta is the same as in the Veda. He guards the fastnesses where the stolen cows or maidens are locked away. He represents the spirit of sin and evil and is therefore, called angra-mainyu (Sanskrit : ugra-manyu) or of ferocious spirit. In later Iranian traditions embodied in the Shāh-nāmāh of Firdausi, this dragon-king, Aji-Dāhak figures as the Turanian King Afrasiab. His shoulders are said to have been

1. F. Max Müller : *India ; What it can teach us ?* P. 122.

2. *Ṛgveda* II, 12, 3.

यो हत्वाहिमरिणात्सप्तसिन्धुन्यो गा उदाजदपधा बलस्य ।

Ṛgveda II, 12, 11

यः शम्बरं पर्वतेषु क्षियन्तं चत्वारिंश्याँ शरद्यन्वविन्दत् ।

ओजायमानं यो अहिं जघान दानुं शयानं स जनास इन्द्र : ॥

4 [*Annals*, B. O. R. I.]

kissed by the evil one and in the result two living snakes sprang from them, which had to be daily fed on human brains. This is a reminiscence of the serpent-worship and human sacrifices, that were prevalent among the aboriginals of these countries. These traditions show that the serpent was the symbol of Vṛtra. This is why the Iranians hated the serpent so much as to include it among the Ahrimani creatures and think it meritorious to kill it with the Khrafstraghna, which forms part of the paraphernalia of an Athravan.

In India the people having the serpent as their symbol were called the serpents or Nāgas, just as the southern wild tribes having the monkey as their symbol were called the monkeys or Vānaras.¹ According to the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (XIII, 4-3) the tale of Arbuda Kadroveya who represented the serpents and the serpent-knowers was to be recited to the king who performed the Aśvamedha sacrifice on the fifth day. The text to be recited on that day is called Sarpa-Vidyā-Veda. Thus, according to this Brāhmaṇa the serpents were an old people with a scripture and tradition of their own. Legends point to the existence of a race of serpents (Nāgas) and their habitat, the Pātāloka. [This place is the same as the maritime island of Pattala or Patalae, which Megasthenes and Arrian described as being situated at the mouth of Indus and which Cunningham has identified with Nirankol or Hyderabad in Sindh.² The location of Pātala, the land of the race of serpents, in the lower Ganges Valley, shows that this place was the cradle of a culture and people, of which the serpent was a prominent and characteristic symbol. We learn from the seals exhumed from Mohenjodaro that the serpent symbol was a dominant feature of the people, who developed that culture. A seal depicts a cross-legged figure of a deity with Nāga-worshippers to right and left and pipal trees over the head.³ This figure

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1. V. R. Ramchandra Dikshitar: *Some Aspects of Vānara, culture* (*Indian Culture* Vol. XIII No. 2) P. 119.
 2. J. W. MacCrindle: *Ancient India as described by Megasthenes and Arrian* P. 158 and P. 187.
 3. S. V. Venkateswara: *Proto-Indian Culture* (*Cultural Heritage of India* Vol. III, P. 60).

seems to be a representation of Śiva who is associated with serpents in later Hindu religion and mythology. This interpretation of this figure finds some support from the fact that the Nāgas worship Śiva as their iṣṭadeva and are described in historical records as carrying the phallus of Śiva on their shoulders as their religious symbol.¹

The serpent-symbol of the proto Indian people has its exact analogue in Sumeria. In Turanian mythology the serpent is regarded as a symbol of the highest deity. The Akkadian supreme god Ea was worshipped at his holiest shrine at Eridhu in the form of a serpent and as Eridhu was the centre from which the first Chaldean civilization started and spread so the serpent symbol was accepted as representing the race and its religion.² The influence of serpent symbology is still manifest on the religions prevalent in Kurdistan these days. There is a sect of the Yezidis among the Kurds of Assyria, who worship the devil in the form of a serpent and dedicate temples to him.³ An indication of the similarity of serpent-symbols among the peoples of India and the Middle-East is provided by the fact that the word *Sraja*, which is a snake name in the fifth book of the *Atharva-veda*, occurs in the inscriptions of the Achaemenian emperors as (X) *ūja* and (X) *uvaja*, which is the name of Elam. Likewise Taimāta occurring in the same book of this Veda corresponds to the Babylonian-Assyrian Tiamat and Vāsuki, the name of the younger brother of Seṣanāga agrees with Bašku, the semetic serpent [Sayce : *Records of the Past* (New Series) Vol. VI P. 122] This similarity of religious symbols among the peoples of Sumer and India strengthens the view of their having belonged to a common racial and cultural stock.

Thus we find that the religion of the Vṛtras centered round a sort of serpent-symbology, because of which, they came to be known as serpents, Ahi, in Aryan literature. The Vṛtras

1. J. F. Fleet : *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum* Vol. III, No. 55.

असंत्रोरसन्निवेशितशिवलिङ्गोद्धनशिवसुपरितुष्ट etc.

2. Z. A. Ragozin: *Chaldea* Pp. 215, 246, 287.
3. Z. A. Ragozin : *Media, Babylon and Persia* P. 270.

developed also an urban culture of a fairly high order. Vṛtras¹ fortresses are referred to in Ṛgveda X, 89. These² fortresses are said to be ninety nine in number. Inside these fortresses there was a special hidden abode (niṇya) in which Vṛtra lived.³ The ruins of these fortifications have been discovered at ancient sites such as Harappa by Mortimer Wheeler. The riches of Viśva-rūpa Tvāṣṭra, belonging to the family of the Vṛtras is also referred to in the Ṛgveda.⁴ The wealth and aristocratic character of the Vṛtras allured the Aryan invaders and left an indelible impression on their minds.

VIII

The above discussion about the race, nationality, habitât, religion and culture of the Vṛtras has enabled us to identify them with the Proto-Indian people, whom the Aryans met and conquered as they advanced in India. But as we had occasion to see, the Vṛtras do not mean the entire body of the Dāsas and Dasyus. They are expressly distinguished from them. This shows that they constituted a particular class or caste among them.⁵ The Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa contains an account of the origin and genesis of Vṛtra, which gives us very valuable information about the position of the Vṛtras in early Indian society. The narrative opens with a description of how Indra used to snatch and quaff off the tubs of Somajuce belonging to Tvaṣṭṛ and killed his three-headed and six-eyed son Viśvarūpa. Thereupon, Tvaṣṭṛ collected what remained of Somajuce in a tub and excluded Indra from it. But, all of a sudden, Indra came uninvited and quaffed off almost the whole of Soma juice collected in that tub. Tvaṣṭṛ grew furious and poured what remained of Soma in the tub into the fire saying, "Grow thou having Indra for thy foe." The moment it reached the fire, it developed

1. *Ṛgveda* X, 89, 7-जघान वृत्रं स्वधितिवनेव रुरोज पुरो अरदन्न सिन्धून् ।
2. *Ṛgveda* VII, 19, 5-त्वं च्यौत्तानि वज्रहस्त तानि नव यत्पुरो नवतिं च सद्यः । निवेशने शततमाविवेषीरहन् च वृत्रं नमुचिमुताहन् ॥
3. *Ṛgveda* I, 32, 10-अतिष्ठन्तीनामनिवेशनानां काष्ठानां मध्ये निहितं शरीरम् । वृत्रं निष्ण्य विचरन्त्यापो दीर्घं तम आशयदिन्द्रशत्रुः ॥
4. *Ṛgveda* X, 76, 3 गोऽरणीसि त्वाष्ट्रे अश्वनिर्णिञ्जि प्रेमध्वरेष्वध्वरां अशिश्त्रयुः ।
5. *Ṛgveda* VII, 83, 1 दासा च वृत्रा हतमायाणि च सुदासमिन्द्रावरुणावसावतम् ।

into human shape and became possessed of Agni and Soma, of all sciences, of all glory, all nourishment, all prosperity and since it so developed whilst rolling onwards, (vṛt) it became Vṛtra. But because the incantation of Tvāṣṭṛ was misaccented, it meant that Indra would be the foe of Vṛtra and consequently Indra killed Vṛtra.¹

Plainly interpreted this Brāhmaṇa means that the Aryans used to molest and kill the Dasyus, who organised themselves for defence and protection under the leadership of Vṛtra.

Vṛtra, we further learn from the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, was the product and repository of Agni and Soma and was also adept in all sciences and humanities. He was also, as the same Brāhmaṇa informs us at another place, the receptacle of the knowledge (Veda) of the ṛks, yajus and sāmans.² His popularity and respect among the people is hinted at by the statement of the Brāhmaṇa that in the forenoon the gods offered him food, at midday, the men and in the afternoon, the fathers. Thus Vṛtra according to this Brāhmaṇa possessed the rights to sacrifice to gods and propitiate them, to invoke their blessings and bring prosperity to the people to learn, teach, preserve and practise the sacred lore as enshrined in the ṛks, yajus, and sāmans, and to ask and accept charities from the people. He, thus, performed the functions of sacrificers, magicians and fortune-bringers and represented the priestly class among the Proto-Indian people. The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (I, 2, 3) clearly states that the assassination of Viśvarūpa amounted to Brahmanicide or Brahmahatyā. Hence Indra was at his wit's end as to how to shelve off this sin. Seeing no other way out, he transferred this sin to the Āptyas who attended on him and were in consequence regarded as the abettors of the crime. The Aptyas; in turn transferred the sin, wantonly tramped upon them, to all those who would make an offering without a gift to the priest. Therefore, the making of an offering without giving the Dakṣiṇā to the officiating priest amounts to Brahmanicide or Vṛtrahatyā. [तस्मान्नादक्षिणेन हविषा यजेत् आप्त्य उ ह तस्मिन् मृजते यत् अदक्षिणेन हविषा यजते]

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1. Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa I, 6, 4; Eggeling's translation in *Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. XII, pp. 164-165.
 2. Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa V, 5, 5, Eggeling's translation in *Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. XLI P. 138.

That the Vṛtras were the priests of the Proto-Indian people is conclusively established by Indian historical traditions of later times. According to the Mahābhārata¹ Vṛtra is the same as Viśvarūpa Tvaṣṭra and according to the Taittirīya-Saṁhitā of Yajurveda,² Viśvarūpa Tvāṣṭra was the sister's son of the Asuras and acted as the Purohita of the gods. Therefore, by killing him, the Taittirīya—Saṁhitā remarks, Indra became guilty of the most heinous crime of Brahmahatyā. This crime figures prominently in the record of sins, which was attached to the name of Indra by reason of his enmity towards the Brāhmaṇas. The Aitareya Brāhmaṇa³ observes that Indra was looked down upon in consequence of his conduct towards the Brāhmaṇas and was excluded from Somadrinking. Keith renders this passage as follows.⁴

“When the gods excluded Indra saying, ‘he hath misused Viśvarūpa, son of Tvaṣṭr, he hath laid low Vṛtra, he hath given the Yatis to the hyaenas, he hath killed Arurmaghas,⁵ he hath contended with Bṛhaspati,’ then Indra was deprived of soma-drinking and in accordance with the deprivation of Indra, the lordly power was deprived of soma-drinking.”

The epics also repeatedly state that Indra incurred the sin of Brahmanicide by killing Vṛtra and Namuci.⁶ In chapters 232-287 of the Śāntiparvan of the Mahābhārata, Bhīṣma narrates the story of the killing of Vṛtra by Indra and clearly says that the

1. V, 22.

2. II, 5, 1, 1

3. XII. 28

4. A. B. Keith : *R̥gveda Brāhmaṇas* P. 314

5. Here ‘arurmaghas’ seems, to refer to Asuramazdā, the Iranian god, and Indra’s enmity towards appears to refer to the conflicts of the later Aryans, the Devas, and the earlier Aryans, who had settled in Iran.

6. *Mahābhārata* V, 10, 290-316

ततः प्रणष्टे देवेन्द्रे ब्रह्महत्याभयार्दिते ।

भूमिः प्रध्वस्तसंकाशा निर्दृक्षा शुष्ककानना ॥

Rāmāyaṇa VII, 85, 19

हतश्चायं त्वया वृत्रो ब्रह्महत्या च वासवम् ।

बाभते सुरशार्दूल मोक्षं तस्य विनिर्दिश ॥

killing of Vṛtra amounted to the murder of a Brāhmaṇa. 'In the initial stages of his flight with Vṛtra Indra suffered some setbacks for, as, Bhīṣma says, Vṛtra practised penances for 60,000 years in order to obtain strength; Brahman had given him the boons he had solicited; viz. the greatness of Yogins, large powers of illusions, excess of might, etc. Indra, then, sought the aid of Siva and later on told him to slay Vṛtra with Yoga and imparted to him his own energy. The Devas, then, uttered loud cheers. Suddenly all Asuras were afflicted with the loss of memory; in a trice their powers of illusion also disappeared and Vṛtra was overtaken by fever. Indra, then, hurled the thunderbolt at him. It cut Vṛtra into two halves, Vṛtra, then came to the highest regions of Viṣṇu for it was by his devotion to Viṣṇu that he had overwhelmed the universe. Then Indra entered heaven with the thunderbolt. Then Brahmavādhyā (the sin of Brahmanicide) issued out of the slain Vṛtra. A little while after when Indra was proceeding towards heaven she seized him and stuck to him. Indra entered the fibres of a lotus—stalk and dwelt there for many years. But Brahmavādhyā pursued him closely and deprived him of all his energy. At last, he repaired to Brahman, who made Brahmavādhyā leave him by apportioning one quarter to Agni (whence it should enter him, who does not offer oblations of seed etc. to Agni) one quarter to the trees and grass (whence it should possess the man who would cut or tear grass) one quarter to the apsarās (whence it should possess that man who would cohabit with women during their courses) and one quarter to the waters (whence it should possess that man, who would cast into the waters phlegm, urine and excrements). With Brahman's permission Indra, then, performed a horse sacrifice and thereby became cleansed of the sin, regained, his prosperity and slew thousands of his foes.¹ Vṛtra left many of his descendants, who were, according to the Purāṇas, Brahmavid (knowers of Brahman or Brāhmaṇas) and Dhārmika (or of pious and religious character).^{2*}

1. *Mahābhārata*, XII, 287, Verses 58 ff. paraphrased in Sorenson : *Mahābhārata Index*, P. 757.

2. *Vāyu Purāṇa* LXVIII, 34-36.
Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa III, 6, 35-37.

* Attention may here be drawn to the fact that the Dasyus or

The account of Vṛtra-hatyā, paraphrased from the Mahābhārata above shows that (1) the Vṛtras used to practise arduous penances and were noted Tapasvins, (2) they were the favourites of gods, (3) they knew the science and art of magic (māyā) very thoroughly and, (4) used it to good purpose in resisting the invasions of the Aryans, (5) they were associated with the Asuras and (6) their murder ranked as the murder of Brāhmaṇas. The fact that the Vṛtras were the main targets of the wrath and avarice of the Aryans shows that all the prosperity of those times was concentrated in them and the recurring reference to their cities and forts and fighting strength demonstrates that they possessed some sort of kingly status among the proto-Indian people. Thus, they constituted the head and front of that society as priest-kings and when the invasions of the Aryans took place, they were called upon to fight in the vanguard of the forces to protect their life, country and culture. *1

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Vṛtra are described as 'black' in the R̥gveda some of the noted Brāhmaṇas are also described as 'black' in the epics and purāṇas. in the Droṇaparvan of the Mahābhārata "Dronācārya" is described as 'black' and (Śyāma) with white hair :—

आकर्णपलितश्यामो वयसाशीतिपञ्चकः ।
रणे पर्यचरद्दोणो वृद्धः षोडशवर्षवत् ॥

In the Brāhmaṇas also dark-skinned brāhmaṇas are described as cleverer than white-skinned ones. This black-complexion of the Brāhmaṇas is another proof of their being un-Aryan and Proto-Indian and of their being identical with Dasyu-Vṛtras.

1. As a matter of fact the Brāhmaṇa has always sacrificed himself for the defence of his motherland against foreign aggression. In times of trouble his peace and sobriety quickly turns into a fury and ferocity which burn away the unrighteous aggressor. The ravaging purges of Kṣatriyas by Paraśurāma are instances in point. In historical times the Brāhmaṇa Cāpakya rose against the Greeks and Puṣyamitra quelled the menace of the Bactrians. In fifth and sixth centuries, when the invasions of the Hūṇas raged, the Brāhmaṇas joined the ranks of Yaśodharman—Viṣṇuvardhana, known as Kalki—avatāra,

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in tens of thousands for the protection of the motherland. Cp. K. P. Jayaswal: *The Historical Position of Kalki*; (*Indian Antiquary* Vol. XLVI (1917)).

प्रगृहीतायुधैर्विप्रेः प्रवृत्तः शतसहस्रशः

* This status of the Brāhmaṇas or Vṛtras continued intact up to the time of the Buddha. The Buddha described them as follows: "They (Brāhmaṇas) parade about well-groomed and perfumed, trimmed as to their hair and beard, adorned with garlands and gems, clad in white garments, in the full possession and enjoyment of the five pleasures of sense...live on boiled rice of the best sorts, flavoured with sauces and curries of various kinds waited upon by women with fringes and fur round their loins...go about driving chariots drawn by mares with plaited manes and tails...have themselves guarded in fortified towns, with moats dug out round them and cross-bars let down before the gates, by men girt with long swords" [*Ambattha Sutta* of *Dīghanikāya*, I p. 89 V. W. Rhys Davids' translation].

* Analogous to Vṛtra is Vṛātya. Both these words have a common root, though Vṛātya is derived from 'Vrata' or 'Vrāti' meaning a horde or settlement. Vṛātya, thus, means one, who belongs to a horde. Vṛātya has been variously identified—with King Pṛthu Vainya of the Purāṇas by N. N. Ghosh, with the Daiva—Prajā worshippers, who worshipped the same gods as the Vedic Aryans did by Haraprasad Shastri, with the Alpines of Iran or the Magians of the Gangetic valley who spoke the Aryan tongue and migrated to India centuries before the Vedic Aryans arrived there by B. M. Barua, with the Turanians, who pressed into Bihar through the Himalayas and adopted Hindu language and culture by R. C. Dutta, with the heretical people who had the traditions of the Jinas and Buddhas before the sixth century B. C. by K. P. Jayaswal and with the Magadhas of Sogdiana (Shakadvipa) who migrated to India from Central Asia by D. R. Bhandarkar [N. N. Ghosh; *Indo-Aryan Literature and Culture (origins)* P. 36; H. P. Shastri: *Maghadhan Literature* p. 5; B. M. Barua: *Alpines in Eastern India (Indian Culture III, pp. 166-167)*; R. C. Dutta: *A History of Civilization in Ancient India* P. 203; K. P. Jayaswal: *Revised notes on the Brahmin Empire (Journal*

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of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society Vol. XIV, P. 26) ; D. R. Bhandarkar : *Some Aspects of Ancient Indian Culture* P. 48]. All these identifications are based on conjectures and none finally settles the matter. We should, therefore, examine the evidence relating to the Vrātyas anew.

In the XVth book of the *Atharvaveda* Vrātya is described as a wandering Vedic priest ; roaming in the different non-Vedic provinces and converting the people of those places to the Brahmanic fold. The ninth and tenth hymns of this book describe elaborately the rites of conversion adopted by the Vrātyas. They write : " he went away to the people. Meeting and Assembly and Army and Wine followed him. He who hath this knowledge becomes the dear home of Meeting and Assembly and Army and Wine. So let the King, to whose house, the Vrātya who possesses this knowledge comes as a guest honours him as superior to himself." This description shows that the Vrātyas were Vedic priests and their main function was to convert the non-Vedic people to their fold. They held meetings, addressed assemblies and their influence was such that armies of kings were at their beck and call and rich feasts were given to them, in which sumptuous wines were profusely served. The Kings recognized them as their superiors and respected their learning and knowledge. Hence their riches was fabulous and their dress and deportment was very spruce. The *Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa* (XVII 4, 1-92 states that "the Vrātyas roam about in bands in open chariots of war, carry bows and lances, wear turbans and garments with a red border and having fluttering ends, wear shoes and sheepskins folded double and possess cattle ; they are distinguished by brown robes and silver ornaments for the neck." This shows that the Vrātyas enjoyed kingly status and led a very prosperous and affluent life.

The rites of conversion adopted by the Vrātyas were known as Vrātyastomas. These rites were used to convert the Aryans in particular as their nature shows. The *Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa* states that the first Vrātyastoma was meant for converting the Aryans, who were degraded. The second stoma was intended for admitting the 'base' and 'censured' into the Brahmanic fold. (XIVI, 2, 1.) The third Stoma was meant for the re-admission of those Aryans who stayed with the non-Aryans since childhood and the fourth stoma was meant to entitle

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IX

Thus in the myth of Indra-Vṛtra conflict we find a reference to the wars, which the Aryans proclaimed against the Brāhmaṇas or the priests of the Dasyus. But war alone is not an effective way of conquest. In order to make the military achievement abiding, it is necessary for the victors to win the allegiance of the vanquished people by convincing them of the wisdom of accepting the foreign sway as a beneficent thing. Hence the victors and conquerors usually pose as the protectors of the culture and religion of the defeated people. Besides this, the culture of the defeated people, if it is advanced, exercises a magnetic influence on uncouth invaders by holding out the prospects of pleasant orderly and civilized living before them.

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the degraded Aryas to procure re-admission into the Aryan fold even in a very advanced age.

These Vṛātyastomas were intended as their very nature shows, for the reform and reconversion of those Aryans who had strayed away from the orthodox norm. But before this purpose of the Vṛātyastomas was necessary the Aryas must have entered the orthodox fold by being converted to it. Hence the original purpose of the Vṛātyastomas was to convert the Aryans to the orthodox fold of Brāhmanism and then to keep them from straying away from it. They were the rites, which the Vṛātyas generally employed for the conversion of the Aryans'

Here some points are worth-noting : Vṛātya is described as a Vedic priest and Vṛtra is described as the repository of Ṛks, Yajus and Sāmans, which he imparted to Indra, in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* : Vṛātya is described as belonging to an aristocratic class that wallowed in wealth and wine ; Vṛtra is described as owning towns and fortresses and enjoying tubfuls of Soma juice ; Vṛātya is described as a despicable being worthy of being offered as a victim in a Puruṣamedha sacrifice (*Vājasneyī Saṁhitā* XXX, 8) Vṛtra is also described as inimical to Indra, whose duty it was to kill him. These points of resemblance show the identity of Vṛātya and Vṛtra, both of which were synonymous designations of the priestly class, among the non-Aryan peoples of India, who first checked the advance of the Aryans and fought with them and later on converted them to their religious order. This class came to be known as Brāhmaṇas in later times.

Similarly, their religion, if it possesses life and vitality, inspires in the hearts of the credulous incomers a sense of heavenly bliss and spiritual beatitude by promising them sumptuous rewards, such as they cannot acquire by war and plunder. A notable instance of the operation of this historical process is provided by the Viking Völkerwanderung of the ninth and tenth centuries A. D. The mariners, pirates and whalers of Scandinavia, stirred by a giant upsurge of expansionist spirit, conquered the whole of Western Europe and swamped the whole of civilized world in barbarism. But the beauty of Latin culture and the grandeur of Gothic Christianity, transmuted them, as by the touch of a magic wand into the most ardent champions of the Christian Church. They were the head and front of the Christian movements, known as the Crusades, so much so that the first crusade was to all intents and purposes a Christianized Viking Expedition.¹

The Aryan invaders of India were no exception to this law. They adopted much of the culture of the Dasyus and Vṛtras and formed a fellowship with them. To begin with, they adopted the religion and literature of the Vṛtras. As the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa writes :—

“Now, while Indra was thus, moving on in pursuit of Vṛtra, he addressed Agni and Soma ‘ye belong to me and I belong to you’ ! that one is nothing to you : why then do ye support that Dasyu against me ? Come over to me !”.

They replied, ‘what is to be our reward in that case ?’ He offered them that Agniṣṭoma cake on eleven potsherds.

They went over to him and after them went forth all the gods, all the sciences, all glory, all nourishment, all prosperity : thus by offering that cake to Agni and Soma Indra became what Indra now is.”²

The Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa further observes : “of old, everything here was within Vṛtra, to wit, the Ṛk, the Yajus and the Sāma. Indra wished to hurl the thunderbolt at him.

1. For other examples of this law vide my book *Toynbee's Philosophy of History* Ch. VI (to be shortly published)

2. *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, Eggeling's translation in *Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. XII, pp. 166-167.

He said, 'There is here a (source of) strength: I will, give that up to thee; but do not smite me!' and gave up to him the yajus formulae. He aimed at him a second time.

He said, 'There is here a (source of) strength: I will give that up to thee; but do not smite me!' and gave up to him the ṛk verses. He aimed at him a second time.

He said, 'There is here a (source of) strength: I will give that up to thee; but do not smite me!' and gave up to him the sāman hymns."¹

These quotations show that the worship of Agni and soma was prevalent among the Vṛtras and the literature of the vedas was cultivated by them before the advent of the Aryans, who adopted them after settling in India. * As a consequence of the Brāhmanization of the Aryans, the general course of Aryan culture underwent a process of rejuvenation, which we should study now. That the Vedic ritual and religion were un-Aryan in origin is manifest from the fact that the Buddha called his system truly Aryan as against the Vedic religion. He decried the cult of ritual retribution and sacrifice as un-Aryan. Likewise the Gitā looked down upon the Vedic idea of Karma as very base

1. *Ibid*, Eggeling's translation in *Sacred Books of the East* Vol. XLI, pp. 138-139.

* The Vedas in their present form in old-Indo-Aryan language and relating to old Aryan gods have a semblance of being originally Aryan. But a study of old traditions as recorded in the Śatapathabrāhmaṇa noted above, shows that originally they were non-Aryan and later on they were translated into Aryan language and much of Aryan lore was incorporated in them so as to give them a veritable Aryan form in language and contents. The *Panṇcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa* (XVII, 4) describes the Vṛātyas as learning the old Indo-Aryan language. (अदुक्त-वाक्यं दुरुक्तमाहुः अदीक्षिता दीक्षितवाचं वदन्ति) This shows the process of translating the Vedic literature into Aryan language. The same process worked in regard to epic and Puranika literature. As Dr. S. K. Chatterji observes "This (the Puranika) tradition was later on Aryanized; that is, was rendered into the Aryan language, Prākṛit and Sanskrit, after the people among whom these traditions grew had themselves become Aryanized. [Suniti Kumar Chatterji *Indo Aryan and Hindi* p. 52]

and low. Thus the true spirit of Aryanism which expressed itself in the movements of the *Gitā*, *Upaniṣads*, Jainism and Buddhism was something different from the Vedic ideology and way of life.

X

At first, we should cast a glance at the history of Aryan culture in Iran. There the Aryans had settled before their advent in India. Hence the changes that Aryan culture underwent there on account of its contact with aboriginal elements had an important bearing on the subsequent developments of Aryan culture. In Iran, as we have seen, *Vṛtra* figures as *Aji-Dāhak* or *Zohāk*. He is represented in Persian epos to have killed *Yima*, the first king of the golden age, as he faltered from the path of duty. He is also said to have reigned in Iran after King *Jamshed* [S. G. W Benjamin; *Persia* P. 5] This is a mythical description of the resurgence of aboriginal culture in Iran after Aryan invasions. The traces of the influence of this culture on the religion and literature of the Aryans are observable in a section of the *Parsi* scriptures, the *Vendidad*. In this book, the use of the *baresman*—a bundle of twigs for divining gods, the treatment of the dead, the curing of diseases by conjuring spells, the exaggerated reverence paid to the elements of nature, the belief in numberless hosts of fiends, that are always on the watch to pounce on man and draw him to perdition are reminiscent of aboriginal practices and superstitions, which had found their way in Persian religion. Gradually, sorcery witchcraft and black magic became the distinguishing features of later Zoroāstricism. This magic was contained in a piece of literature, known as the *āngiras*, which, according to the *Viṣṇupurāṇa* was the fourth *Veda* of the *Magii* or the *Parsis*.¹ That the *āngiras* was associated with an aggressive practice of spells or *Kṛtyā* is known from *Atharvaveda* (VIII, 5. 9).² This veda also

1. Reinaud : *Mémoire sur l'Inde* p. 394.

2. *Atharvaveda* : VIII, 5, 9 कृत्या आंगिरसीः commenting on this passage *Sāyana* writes that *āngiras* magic was contained in a treatise known as *āngiras-kalpa-sūtra*, composed by *āngiras* ṛṣi. आङ्गिरसी महर्षेः कृत्याप्रयोगविधानत्वं आङ्गिरसकल्पाख्यसूत्रनिर्माणदेव प्रसिद्धम्।

informs us that aṅgiras-magic originated in the west,¹ (Iran Sumer etc.).

About the aṅgiras-element or magic in Zoroastrian religion the famous authority on the Zindavesta, M. Harlez writes as follows :

“ The incantations of which the Vendidad supplies a few specimens, assuredly have their origin in Shumir and Turanian Media.....The multitude of Daevas in the Avestan world, the belief in their unremitting action, in their continual attacks, in the necessity of incantations and conjurations to defeat them, the superstitions such as that about the parings of nails being turned into weapons for the Daevas—all this dark and gruesome side of Zoroastrianism is certainly the product of Chaldean and Turanian habits of thought.....

Zoroastrianism, at first, attempted a far more radical reform, of which the gāthās give us the measure ; but the reaction of the national spirit restored the worship of the ancient genii to its former splendour and revived early traditions. Later Mazdaism found nothing better than to force the genii into the heavenly hierarchy, proclaiming them to be creatures of Mazda and the Iranian heroes into the dualistic order of things, rehandling the stories about them as needful.....

Three grades are distinguishable in this evolution. Iranian religion passed from polytheism to dualism, then rose towards monotheism to fall back again into spirit—worship.²

XI

Like the Iranian Aryans, the Indian Aryans also adopted a great deal of aboriginal culture. In India, the Vṛtras, or the Brāhmaṇas,³ as they were later known in Indian literature,

1. *Atharvaveda* X, 1, 1, 6

प्रतीचीन आङ्गिरसोऽव्यक्षो न पुरोहितः ।

प्रतीचीः कृत्याआकृत्यामृन् कृत्याकृतो जहि ॥

2. Harlez ; *Les origines du Zoroastrisme* pp 317-319.

3. Brāhmaṇa or the knower, professor or offspring of Brahma is a very obscure word. The literature of the Aryans gives no

(Continued on the next page)

held a very prominent place in the society of those times. They were adepts in matters of magico-religious significance and as such wielded a great influence over the peoples and Kings of that age. The Bhārgavas were the priests of the Daitya Hiraṇya Kaśipu¹ and Vasiṣṭha was his sacrificer² (hotṛ). Another branch of the Bhārgavas, known as Uśanas Śukra's branch, held the priesthood of the Daityas. * When the Aryans came and established themselves in India, they acknowledged the religious power of these Brāhmaṇa families and appointed them as their priests and preceptors. Many Aryan chiefs established marital relations with Daityas and Vṛtras. Āpnavān married Nahuṣa's daughter Ruci and Yayāti Uśanas's daughter Devayānī. Even Āyu, the son of Purūravas Aila, the inveterate enemy of the

(Continued from the previous page)

hint as to the original import of this word. Pargiter writes that "the original thing denoted by Brahma was the magical power, whether incantation, charm or what not, by which a man could exert influence over all natural and supernatural things" and Brāhmaṇa is one who has acquired and specialized in this magical power. In my opinion Brahman is identical with the Baresman which was a bundle of sacred twigs used as divining rods by the Avestan priests of Iran [See my paper *A study of the word Brahman in Journal of the Bihar Research Society* Vol. XXXV parts I and II March-June (1949) pp. 93-96.

[*Ancient Indian historical tradition* pp. 319-20]

1. *Mahābhārata* III, 102, 8758.
2. *Mahābhārata* XII, 344, 13209.

* The Vasiṣṭhas in general were known as "atharvāṇām nidhi" (the treasure of atharvans) "śatayātu" (possessing magics of hundred kinds) and "Brahmakōṣa" (the store of Brahman) [cp. *Bṛhannāradiya* VII, 63; *Rgveda* VII, 18, 21; *Nirukta* VI, 30; *Vasiṣṭhasmṛti* XXX, 11; Macdonell and Keith: *Vedic Index* vol. I p. 42; vol. II p. 352; Pargiter: *Ancient Indian Historical tradition* p. 209].

They became so notorious in their profession of magic that they took it as an offence to be called "yātudhāna" (repositories of magic). In *Rgveda* (VII, 104, 15-16) Vasiṣṭha laments that his adversaries wantonly call him "yātudhāna."

Brāhmaṇas married the daughter of Sarvabhānu. Besides taking the girls of the Brāhmaṇas to wife, the Aryans also began to give the hands of their daughters to the Brāhmaṇas. The aikṣvāku princess Roṇakī was married to Jamadagni Bhārgava. Later on, it became a fashion to invite the Brāhmaṇas to impregnate the wives of Aryan Kings, if they were impotent. When king Kalmāṣapāda became unfit for procreation on account of the curse of a Brāhmaṇa lady, Vasiṣṭha was called upon to beget a son on his queen Maḍayanī, in order to preserve the continuity of the royal lineage. Like marriage, adoption was an effective bond of unity among the Aryans and the Brāhmaṇas. Many Aryan Kings are recorded to have adopted the scions of Brāhmaṇa families as their sons on the failure of direct male descent. Bharata is said to have adopted Bhāradvāja, because of which the Bhāratas could regard themselves as Kṣatriyas or Brāhmaṇas or both. Thus, the Aryans and the Vṛtras were firmly linked together in a blood-relationship, which was the sine-qua-non of Aryan-Indian cultural synthesis.

As a matter of fact, the profession of a priest was so important and sacrosanct in those early times that many Aryans took to it and acquired high proficiency in it. Māndhātṛ, Yauvanāśva, Jātukariya, Rathitara, Śaunaka, Āriṣṭaṣeṇa, Ajamīḍha Mudgala, Kāśya, Gṛtsamada and many other reputed Aryan Kings and chiefs showed a marked preference for the priestly profession and initiated highly respected Brāhmaṇa families. The Puru-Bhārata family was known as the matrix of great Kings (Kṣatra) as well as noted Brāhmaṇas (Brahma).¹ The Brāhmaṇa families of Uruksayas, Kapis, Gārgyas, Priyamahas and Maudgalyas owed their origin to the Paurava family. Atri was the son-in-law of Rceyu, an early king of the Paurava dynasty. Likewise, the family of Kāṇvāyana Brāhmaṇas sprang from King Ajamīḍha and his wife Keśinī—both names being suggestive of Median and Kassite origins.² Another wife of King Ajamīḍha excelled her husband in her

1. *Vāyu Purāṇa* 99, 278

ब्रह्मक्षत्रयोर्यो योनिर्विशो देवर्षिसत्कृतः ।

2. *Matsyapurāṇa* 49, 16

अजमीढस्य केशिन्यां कण्वः समभवत् किल ।

मेधातिथिः सुतस्तस्य तस्मात् काण्वश्याना द्विजाः ॥

interest in priestly profession. She led the life of a Brāhmaṇa ascetic and spent all her time in sacrificial apartments busy in her religious observances.¹ Even the ancient family of āṅgīrasas won many recruits from the Aryans.²

The solicitude of the Aryans for the Brāhmaṇas was in most cases a matter of necessity. The Brāhmaṇas, as seen above, wielded a tremendous influence over the credulous peoples of those early times. They could rouse the public in rebellion against the kings by pronouncing imprecations on them, by popularizing, the idea that they forfeited the divine sanctions to rule by reason of their sacrilegious conduct and by impressing on the people that they would meet the wrath and disfavour of the gods if they continued to support the kings whose titles were proclaimed to be false. Hence their favour was more effective in securing the allegiance of the people than the blows of bolts and arrows. When their favour was withdrawn, a terrible upheaval took place and shook the whole realm. Traditions state that when king Janamejaya killed a brāhmaṇa child of the Gārgya family, the people withheld this allegiance from him and landed him in difficulties.³ It is also on record that the antagonism of the Brāhmaṇas resulted in the assassination of Purūravas Aila and Arjuna Kārtavīrya

The importance of the Brāhmaṇas in the age of the Aryan invasions was enhanced by the fact that hordes after hordes of invaders were pouring in India from the North-West and all these hordes fought against each other as against the native people. These internecine wars gave the Brāhmaṇas an excellent occasion to fish in troubled waters and assert their influence by

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1. *Matsya-purāṇa* 50, 19-20.

हुत्वाभिं विधिवत्सा तु पवित्रा मितभोजना ।
अग्निहोत्रकुशेष्वेव सुव्वाप मुनिसत्तमा ॥
तस्यां वै धूम्रवर्णायामजमीढः समेयिवान् ।

2. *Vāyu Purāṇa* 88, 73

एते हंगिरसः पुत्राः क्षत्रोपेता द्विजातयः ।

3. *Vāyu Purāṇa* 93, 22-25

गर्गस्य हि सुतं बालं स राजा जनमेजयः ।
दुर्बुद्धिर्हिसयामास लोहगंधो नराधिपः ॥
पौरजानपदैस्त्यक्तो न लेभे शर्म कर्हिचित् ।

siding with the principal belligerents. These Brāhmaṇas mobilized the people for war by invoking the blessings of the gods and inspiring a conviction of victory in their hearts. In the famous battle of ten kings, referred to in many hymns of the Ṛgveda, the Vāsiṣṭhas or the pupils of Vāsiṣṭha, the priests of the Tṛtsus, clad in white (Svityaṁca) and with braided hair (Kapardinaḥ) [Harit Kṛiṣṇa Deb identifies the Kapardins with the Captors mentioned in the Bible and the 'Keftiu' of Egyptian monuments on the ground that they are depicted as wearing braided hair; H. K. Deb: *Vedic India of the Middle East* op. cit.] marched at the head of the army and invoked the blessings of Indra and Varuṇa.¹ In this war the success of the Tṛtsus under the leadership of the Vāsiṣṭhas was accomplished but soon the worsted confederacy of the Purus rose up as a Phoenix from its ashes under the leadership of Viśvāmitra. Purukutsa's son Trāsadasyu avenged the disaster of Paruṣṇī by conquering far and wide and proclaiming himself an emperor (samrāt). The Victory of the Purus meant also the ascendancy of the family of Viśvāmitra. The Purus later on merged in a general racial fusion known as the Bharatas. These Bharatas continued their *drang nach dem osten* towards the Gangetic valley and came into collision with the Pāṇcālas or the five tribes, that were already settled there. It is important to note that Divodāsa and Sudās belonged to the Pāṇcālas as the Purāṇas state. [Matsya Purāṇa 50, 1-16 Vāyupurāṇa 99, 194-210] Thus the Tṛtsus were a branch of the Pāṇcālas. These Pāṇcālas seem to be the five tribes often mentioned in the Ṛgveda² and included among them such ancient elements as the Keśins or Kassites. They inflicted a crushing defeat on the Bhāratas and drove them right to the banks of the Indus and thus checked their eastward advance. The Bhāratas went in hiding in the forests of the Indus valley. There, they once again requested the Vāsiṣṭhas, under whom

1 *Rgveda* VII, 83, 8

दाशराज्ञे परियत्ताय विश्वतः सुदास इन्द्रावरुणावशिक्षतम् ।
श्वित्यञ्चो यत्र नमसा कपर्दिनो धिया धीवन्तो असपन्त तृत्सवः ॥

2 *Rgveda* III, 59, 8.

मित्राय पञ्च येमिरे जना अभिष्टिशवसे ।
स देवान्विश्वान्विभर्ति ॥

their adversaries had won the day on the Paruṣṇī, to become their own purohitas and bless and lead them in their campaign¹ The Vāsiṣṭhas agreed to assume the purohitahood or leadership of the Bharatas and soon they organized and mobilized themselves and began their raids and depredations against the Pāṇcālas, which form the plot of the great epic of India,—the Mahābhārata. In this poem the Pāṇcālas appear under the name of the Pāṇḍavas—"a very transient designation, merely serving the purpose of the story—in which," writes H. Bruce Hannah.² "We see nothing but yet another of the various protean forms, in which from time to time, the name Pañcajanāḥ has masqueraded." "The tale of the Kauravas and Pāṇcālas," he goes on to write, "appears to be merely a poetical reminiscence of some more or less effective domination of Kuruland by the Pāṇcālas, the five tribes."

XII

These wars and conflicts among the different hordes of the Aryans augmented the prestige of the Brāhmaṇas and tempted them to form an exclusive caste, having the hereditary leadership (pourohiti) of Aryan dynasts. But the pressure of fresh invasions destroyed their exclusiveness and forced them to open

1. For details see *Mahābhārata* I, 101, 23. ff

आर्क्षे संवरणे राजन् प्रशासति वसुन्धराम् ।
 संक्षयः समहानासीत् प्रजानामिति नः श्रुतम् ॥
 व्यशीर्यत ततो राष्ट्रं क्षयैर्नानाविधैस्तदा ।
 अभ्यघ्नन् भारतौर्ध्वं सपत्नानां बलानि च ॥
 चालयन् वमुधां चेमां बलेन चतुरङ्गिणा ।
 अभ्यायत्त च पांचाल्यो विजित्य तरसा महीम् ॥
 राजा संवरणस्तस्मादपलायत महाभयात् ।
 ते प्रतीचीं पराभूताः प्रपन्ना भारता दिशम् ॥
 सिन्धोर्नेदस्य महति निकुंजे न्यवसस्तदा ।
 अभ्यागच्छद्भरतान् वासिष्ठो भगवानृषिः ॥
 तमासने चोपविष्टं राजा वव्रे स्वयं तदा ।
 पुरोहितो भवान्नोऽस्तु राज्याय प्रयतेमहि ॥
 ओमित्येव वासिष्ठोऽपि भरतान् प्रत्यपद्यत ।

2. *Journal of the Department of Letters* (Calcutta) University
 Vol. IX. (1923) P. 152.

their ranks for all incomers. Purūravas Aila, the son of a ruler, who migrated from Bāhlika (Bacteria) in central Asia to Mid-India,¹ made war on the Brāhmaṇas and robbed them of their jewels and belongings.² Purūravas was deadly against the four-fold caste-organization, Cātūrvarṇya, as a tradition recorded in the Arthaśāstra³ of Kauṭilya shows. These Puru-Bhāratas or Ailas or Hellenes, as they were called in Europe, came from the Trans-Himālayan regions of Central Asia, known as Uttarakuru in later literature⁴ and could not brook the egotism and pretensions of any class, which claimed superiority over others by reason of its religious attainments. In consequence, the Brāhmaṇas and their Aryan satellites, the Aikṣvākavas, ostracised the Ailas as is manifest from the fact that while, eastern and southern kings and rulers of the distant Punjab were invited to Daśaratha's sacrifice at Ayodhiyā, none of the neighbouring Paurava and Bhārata Kings was invited. Gradually the resistance of the Brāhmaṇas stiffened and took an aggressive form under the leadership of the Bhārgavas and notably of Paraśurāma. The Kṣatriya dynasts of the north and the Nāgas of the south were solidly behind this Brāhmaṇa crusade. The Brāhmaṇas picked up a quarrel with the Ailas on a very ticklish issue. Arjuna Kārtavīrya, somehow, carried away a calf belonging to the hermitage of Jamadagni. Thereupon, Paraśurāma killed Arjuna Kārtavīrya, Arjuna's sons avenged the death of their father by murdering Jamadagni. Paraśurāma, then, launched a war of vengeance against the Haihayas and, is said in the Purāṇas to have totally exterminated the Kṣatriya

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1. *Rāmāyaṇa* VII, 90, 21-22-23.

राजा तु वह्निमुत्सृज्य मय्यदेशे ह्यनुत्तमम् ।
निवेशयामास पुरं प्रतिष्ठानं यशस्करम् ॥
शशबिन्दुश्च राजर्षिर्बाह्निं परपुरञ्जयः ।
प्रतिष्ठाने इलो राजा प्रजापतिमुतो बली ॥
स काले प्राप्तवौल्लोकमिलो ब्राह्मणनुत्तमम् ।
एलः पुरुरवा राजा प्रतिष्ठानमवाप्तवान् ॥

2. *Mahābhārata* VII, 63, 2295.

3. *Kauṭilya Arthaśāstra* I, 3 (Shāmsastri's edition) P. 11

लोभादेलश्चातुर्वर्ण्यमत्याहारयमाणः

4. B. C. Law : *Ancient Mid-Indian Kshatriya Tribes* P. 16

dynasties of North India. But the Kṣatriyas were not slow in their revenge. Their traditions, as survive in the fragmentary legends of the Jains, state that Subhūma the son of Arjuna Kārtavīrya killed Paraśurāma and exterminated the Brāhmaṇas of India twentyone times.¹ In the Cambodian Rāmāyaṇa and the Siamese Rāmāyaṇa the conflict of Arjuna Kārtavīrya (Varjuna) and Paraśurāma (Ramāsura) centres round a jewel possessed by the Sea-Goddess Manimekhalai. Though Paraśurāma is there described as the victor yet he is viewed as an aggressor and hence looked down upon as a fiend (asura). The sympathies of the poets of Greater India are with Arjuna. [For references see Sylvain Lévi. *On Manimekhalā, The Guardian deity of the sea*. Indian Historical Quarterly (1931) Vol. VII pp, 173-75 *More on Manimekhalā Indian Historical Quarterly* (1931) VII pp. 371-6]. The stress of these wars destroyed the isolationism of the Brāhmaṇas and cast them in a progressive mould. But the effect of these happenings was short-lived and soon the spirit of insularity revived among the Brāhmaṇas. In the after-math of the Kuru-Pāṇḍava wars, narrated in the Mahābhārata, they tried to establish their caste-exclusiveness by arrogating to themselves the right to sacrifice to the gods. Janamejaya Pārikṣita rose against this caste-movement and performed two Aśvamedha and one Vājesaneya sacrifices himself.² His brothers killed a number of puffed-up Brāhmaṇas and foiled their selfish designs. Likewise Viśvantara Sauśadmana quarrelled with the Śyāparṇas and excluded them from his sacrifices. In a passage of the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa the scene of this conflict is dramatically portrayed. Its brawl and scuffle, its noise and panic, its sharp tones and flashing retorts live forever in this narrative :

“Viśvantara Sauśadmana despising the Śyāparṇas performed a sacrifice without them. Perceiving this the Śyāparṇas went to the sacrifice and sat within the altar. Seeing this he said, ‘There sit those of evil deed, speakers of impure

1. Hemachandra : *Triṣaṣṭiśalūkūpuruṣacarita* VI, 4

2. *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* VII, 27

Matsyapurāṇa I, 63-64

Kauṭīliya Arthśāstra I, 3 कोपाज्जनमेजयो ब्राह्मणेषु विक्रान्तः

speech, the Syāvatras; remove them! let them not sit within my altar.' They removed them. They cried aloud, 'Heroes had the Kāsyapas among them in the Asitamṛgas who at the sacrifice from which Janamejaya Pāriksita excluded the Kāsyapas, won the Soma-drinking from the Bhūtavīras, what hero have we among us who will win this Soma-drinking?' 'I am the hero for you,' said Rāma Mārgaveya. When they were rising up, he said, can it be that they are removing, Oh, King!, from the altar one who knows this?' 'What is that thou knowest, Oh Worthless Brāhmaṇa'.....he replied....." ¹

In this way the attempts of the Brāhmaṇas to set up an exclusive caste of their own were foiled. This influence of the Ailas on the Brāhmaṇas is described by Pargiter as follows² :

"The Aila kings appear to have been their own sacrificers and the Brāhmaṇas on becoming established among them assimilated Aila religious ideas and rites and became priests and Aila princes also became Brāhmaṇa priests. Brāhmanism, thus gradually changed its character and became the well-known system, priestly not magical, which took its great development among the Bhāratas, as displayed especially in the Rgvedic Hymns of the times of Vadhryāśva, Divodāsa and their successors. The infusion of royal scions into the ranks of the Brāhmaṇas must have enhanced Brāhmaṇahood greatly and also, no doubt, modified it and therefrom arose a fresh, vigorous and illustrious development of it with apparently a strong stimulus to sacrificial worship."

Besides causing a revolutionary change in the concept of caste and democratizing Hindu society,³ the impact

1. *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* VII, 27 translated by A. B. Keith : *Rgveda Brāhmaṇas* P. 314.

2. F. E. Pargiter: *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition* p. 340

3. The net result of the Aryan impact on Indian culture in this respect was that people could change their professions easily at will and there was no social disability attending on this change of profession. The *Rgveda* IX, 112, 3, informs us that the father of a bard was a physician and his mother was a grinder of corns and all pursued their professions peacefully and with honour. काहरहं तातो भिषगुपल-प्रक्षिणी नना ।

of the Aryans on Indian culture resulted in the transformation of a cult of fiendish magic and diabolic ritual into a religion of spiritual values and moral ideals, based on the fundamental postulates of human equality and fellowship. The primitive religion of India was marked by a dark¹ and dismal pantheon and a sense of repulsion and consternation. The Aryans introduced a bright and gay pantheon and infused in it a sense of love and reciprocity. They approached their gods as friends and comrades. Addressing Varuṇa, a poet says : "Come, let us talk together, I have brought for you sweet honey."¹ Praising Indra he sings that his leadership was hotly contested, "of whom they ask, 'where is he' and some even say, 'he is not.'"² The friendliness existing among the gods and the people is manifest from a Nārāśaṃsī gāthā³ cited in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (XIII, 5, 4, 6) which says that the Maruts performed the service at the dinners of King Marutta of Vaiśālī, Agni was his driver and Viśvedevas were his courtiers.⁴ In later times Ashoka claimed to have reunited men with gods,⁵ and the Harivaṃśapurāṇa recalled the day when men and gods lived together.⁶

Thus the impact of the Aryans on Indian culture resulted in its progressive humanization. Besides, this impact resulted in its spiritualization also. Many obscene, abstruse and occult practices, prevailing among the Indians, received at the hands of

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1. *Rgveda* I 25, 17

सं नु वोचावहै पुनर्यतो मे मन्वामृतम् ।
होतेव क्षदसे प्रियम् ॥

2. *Rgveda* I, 115, 2

सूर्यो देवीमुषसं रोचमानां मर्यो न योषामभ्येति पश्चात् ।

3. *Rgveda* II, 12, 5

यं स्मा पृच्छंति कुह सेति घोरमुतेमाहुर्नैषो अस्तीत्येनम् ।

4. मरुतः परिवेशारो मरुतस्यावसन् गृहे ।

आविक्षितस्याग्निः क्षत्ता विश्वेदेवाः समासदः ॥

5. *Minor Rock Edict* I (Brahmagiri Version)

जम्बूदीपसिं ये अमिसा देवा हुसु ते दाणि मिसा कटा

6. *Harivaṃśapurāṇa* III, 32, 1

देवतांना मनुष्याणां सहवासोऽभवत्तदा ।

the Aryans a spiritual colouring which changed their entire character. The sacrifices, sorcery and magic, which constituted the religion of early Indians, were elevated to the position of ministering to the highest spiritual urges of man. The late Lokamānya Bālgangādhara Tilak¹ suggested that in the Vedas and especially in the Atharvaveda, there is a sprinkling of Chaldean ideas and phrases. In Atharvaveda (V, 13) in a hymn against snake poison, there is a reference to the Chaldean water dragon Tiamat, generally represented as a male monster snake and Urugulā, the deity of the nether world, the abode of the dead and the Assyrian god Bil or Bilgi (Āligi and Viligi).² But these malevolent deities were endowed with profound spirituality according to the fundamental law that truth is one, seers call it differently, Ekam Sadviprā bahudhā vadanti (*Rgveda* I, 164, 46) which has been the leitmotif of Vedic and thereafter of Indian culture. Similarly Eka-Vrātya, the god of the vrātyas, which later on developed into Śiva*, was infused with a serenity

1. B. G. Tilak : *Chaldean and Indian Vedas* (R. G. Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume P. 32 ff.)
2. *Atharvaveda* V, 13, 6-8.

असितस्य तैमातस्य बभ्रोरपोदकस्य च ।
 सात्रासाहस्याहं मन्योरेव ज्यामिन्
 धन्वनो विमुञ्चामि रथौ इव ॥
 आलिगी च विलिगी च पिता च माता च ।
 विद्म वः सर्वतो बन्ध्वरसाः किं करिष्यथ ॥
 उरुगूलाया दुहिता जाता दास्यसिक्न्या ।

Here the sorcerer exercises the poison with the power given by the Aryan god Varuṇa.

* [Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar. *Some Aspects of Ancient Indian Culture* Pp. 40-48]

The Eka-vrātya or Śiva cult goes back to early times. Dr. H. C. Raychoudhury identifies it with the *Tesup Hepit* or the *Ma-Atthis* cult of Asia Minor. [H. C. Raychoudhury *Prototypes of Shiva in Western Asia in D. R. Bhandarkar Volume* pp. 301-303].

and loftiness that is unparalleled in Indian literature and religion. As the Atharvaveda shows, Puṁścalī or harlōt associated with Eka-vrātya was replaced by śraddhā or faith, the māgadha or the magii priest attending on him was substituted by the god Mitra, knowledge became his garments, day and night, his cap and hair and Mātariśvan and Pavamāna were connected with him as the horses of his chariot.¹ He became a great Tapasvin and practised penances standing for one full year.² Thus the system of Saiva-worship underwent complete metamorphosis.

XIII

The above survey of the impact of the Aryans on Indian culture leads us to the conclusion that the result of this impact was the engrafting of the values of spirituality and equality on the culture and society of the Indians. These values persisted in India through the ages. Off and on there were occasions when these values were eclipsed by the eruption of reactionary and materialist forces but everytime the spirit of Aryanism dawned and dispelled these forces. In the later Brāhmaṇa period there sprang a school of thought, which sought to confine the culture of the country to the narrow circles of the priests. The followers of this school considered it a sin and sacrilege to let the sacred learning spread in all strata of society. Hence they laid down the rule that if a śūdra overhears the Veda, molten lead and lac is to be poured in his ears; if he utters the Vedas, his tongue is to cut and if he learns the Vedas his body is to be torn asunder.³ But soon the spirit of

1. *Atharvaveda* XV, 1, 5-7.

श्रद्धा पुँश्चली मित्रो मागधो विज्ञानं वासोऽहरुणीषं रात्री केशा हरितौ प्रवर्तौ कल्मलिर्मणिः । ...
:सातरिश्वा च पवमानश्च विपथवाहौ वातः सारथीः रेष्मा प्रतोदः ॥

2. *Atharvaveda* XV, 3, 1-3 स संवत्सरमूर्ध्वोऽतिष्ठत् ; तं देवा

अब्रुवन् । त्रास्यो किंनु तिष्ठसीति । सोऽब्रवीदासन्दीं मे
संभरन्त्विति । तस्मै त्रात्यायासन्दीं समभरन् ।

3. *Gautama Dharmasūtra* II, 12, 3,

अथ ह्यस्य वेदमुपशृण्वतस्त्रपुजतुभ्यां श्रोत्रपरिपूरणमुदाहरणे
जिह्वाच्छेदो धारणे शरीरभेदः ।

Aryanism arose in the philosophies of a series of sophist thinkers ranging from the founders of Upaniṣadic thought to the progenitors of the Socio-moral sects of Buddhism, Jainism and Bhāgvatism. The greatest of them, the Buddha, launched a crusade against caste and the sordid materialism into which the cult of sacrifices had degenerated.¹

Again in about the beginning of the Christian era there was a resurrection of reactionary forces which endeavoured to imprison the culture of India in the narrow sick-room of sacerdotal interests. The laws of Manu,² the Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali³ the re-editions of old treatises such as the epics⁴ and the Purāṇas and the composition of a plethoric, volume of digests and commentaries, which continued from the accession of Puṣyamitra right to the fall of Pṛthvirājā Chauhana, reveal the gradual spreading of the pall of decadence over India. But again the spirit of Aryanism leaped to life at the touch of Islam and reinvigorated the sinking culture of India. An illustrious series of

1. Cp, *Suttanipīṭa* : *Basalsutta*

कामरागं विराजेत्वा ब्रह्मलोकूपगो अहु ।
न तं जाति निवारोसि ब्रह्मलोकूपपत्तिया ॥
न जच्चा बसलो होति न जच्चा होति बह्मणो ।
कम्मुना बसलो होति कम्मुना होति बह्मणो ॥

2. *Manusmṛti* X, 3

वैशेष्यात्प्रकृतिश्रेष्ठयान्निग्रहस्य च धारणात् ।
संस्कारस्य वैशेष्याच्च वर्णानां ब्राह्मणः प्रभुः ॥

3. *Pāṭaṅjala-Mahābhāṣya* I. 413. 10 ब्राह्मणस्य शुक्ला दन्ताः वृषलस्य
कृष्णा दन्ताः I ; 1, 414 9 ब्राह्मणस्य उच्चैरासनम् वृषलस्य नीचैरिति ।

4. *Mahābhārata* XIII. 33, 17620

ब्राह्मणा यं प्रशंसन्ति पुरुषः स प्रवर्तते ।
ब्राह्मणैर्यः पराकृष्टः पराभ्यात्क्षणाद्धि सः
अदैवं दैवतं कुर्युर्दैवतं वाप्यदैवतम् ।
यमिच्छेयुः स राजा स्याद्यो नेष्टः स पराभवेत् ॥

teachers and thinkers beginning with the Nāthas, Yogis, Tāntrikas, Sufies and Sants proclaimed unequivocally the eternal values of spirituality and equality, to which this culture has clung for ever. Kabir, Dādu, Tulsi, Nānak and others shone like beacon-lights in that dark epoch and illumined the firmament of Indian Society. But the gloom of decadence began to gather again, in the enervating atmosphere of British rāj and the Indians lost all sense of self-respect and spiritual values and developed a servile liking for European culture. This time also the spirit of Aryanism awoke in the persons of Rāmakṛṣṇa Paramahansa, Rabīndranātha Tagore and Mahātmā Gandhi and asserted itself on Indian culture. In the result, Indian culture is wide awake again and delivers its message of goodwill and brotherhood and peace to the modern man, anguished with sordid and selfish pursuits.

PURANDHAR: ITS MONUMENTS AND THEIR HISTORY

BY

H. GOETZ

South of Poona, between the Karba and Nira Valleys, there stretches a conspicuous mountain range, the highest stock of which, crowned by the Kedāreśvar Temple, is occupied by Purandhar Fort, some miles South-West of Sāsvad. To the West it breaks off in a few short hill-shoulders, but to the East it falls down slowly, first in another mountain, occupied by Wazirgadh (Vajragadh or Rudramālā) Fort, then in another group of cliffs, finally in a long range of lower and lower hills which are crossed by the railway and motor road to Sātāra near the well-known place of pilgrimage, Jejuri. Like most mountains of the Western Deccan this range is built up of several superimposed strata of hard rock, in this case basalt, separated by softer liparite, which form successive plateaus and cliff bands. The lowermost strata form the long eastern hill range and the many hill shoulders projecting mainly towards the Nira Valley, but North-West of Purandhar and North of Vajragadh also to the Karba Valley side, and finally the plateau (Machi) occupied by the Lower Fort of Purandhar. The next basalt strata bear the plateaus of the Upper Fort of Purandhar and of Vajragadh, and the cliff cones to the East and South-East of the latter; of the third hard stratum only the Kedāreśvar Peak in the western part of Upper Purandhar Fort, and the much lower Rājvāda Hill near its centre are still standing.

Purandhar and Vajragadh stretch, parallel, almost exactly from East to West, however Purandhar Fort to the North-East of Kedāreśvar, and Vajragadh to the North-East of Purandhar. The Lower Fort of Purandhar forms a terrace, ca. one mile long, to the North of the cliffs of the Upper Fort. Much of this terrace is very narrow as the debris slopes reach down from the upper cliffs almost to the edge of the lower cliff band. Only where at the north-western end the plateau goes over into

a long shoulder, it permits of some room for houses; and likewise towards its eastern end where the slopes are less steep before they go over into the Bhairav Khind ridge leading to Vajragadh.

The central section of the Upper Fort is formed by a line of cliffs so narrow that a passage had to be cut by masons along its top. To the East of these cliffs is a somewhat higher plateau ending in the steep Khandkada Bastion. To the West another, more elevated plateau extends, first rather narrow, then expanding to considerable width, finally dissolving into a narrow terrace band running round the Rājvāda and Kedāreśvar hills. From this band there project several natural cliff bastions, later fortified, the Shindi Burj towards the North-West, the Hāthl Burj, less prominent, towards the West, the Koṅkāṇi Burj towards the South-West, the Fateh Burj towards the South. On the level of the Lower Fort the Koṅkāṇi Burj finds its continuation in the Mesel-Met plateau, the Fateh Burj in the Bhonchikā-Met. Over the western two-thirds of the Upper Fort there stretches the highest range of the whole mountain stock, first rising in the cliffs of Rājvāda Hill, then crowned by Kedāreśvar Peak and finally ending in another, unnamed group of cliffs.

Vajragadh is connected with Purandhar by the Bhairav Khind. It likewise consists of several plateaus. The highest one, topped by a romantic group of cliffs, occupies its south-western part. North of this there is situated a small plateau, continued, on the lower level, in a hill-shoulder falling down to the plains in several steps. A narrow terrace band connects this plateau with two others towards the East, one behind the other, at least ending in a wilderness of collapsed cliffs. Beyond, a ridge connects Vajragadh with another cliff-cone from which lower ridges extend towards the East and South.

In Marāṭhā history this mountain massive has played a prominent role. The siege of Purandhar in A. D. 1665 has been the prelude to Śivājī's famous visit to the Mughal court. And with the rise of the Peshwās it had become the summer residence and refuge of the Poona court. Mādhav Rāo I had often stayed in it. Mādhav Rāo II was born here, and Nānā Farnavis directed from here the affairs of the Marāṭhā confederation in many of the troubled years of civil war. Already before, however, it has

played an important role under the Bahmani and Nizāmshāhī dynasties, and there are indications that it had been already occupied at least in the late Hindu Middle Ages.

A general description of the place is found in the "Poona District Gazetteer". Further notes are incorporated in the "Progress Report of the Archaeological Superintendent for Western India, 1899-1900". But a reconstruction of the history of the monuments has not yet been undertaken. During the last war, however, the writer of these pages could take up a careful survey of these monuments, with the help of Mr. M. J. Kirschner and some other German war detainees whose mountaineering training made the examination of many spots possible which after centuries of neglect had become almost inaccessible. Notwithstanding all this assistance, certain problems could nevertheless not be solved because most of the innumerable hill forts with which India is covered, have not yet been studied systematically. We know, therefore, very little of the average fortification technique of the Hindu Middle Ages, of the masonry types then in prevalence, of the survival of the tradition of cave excavation so prominent in ancient times. In absence of such archaeological or of epigraphic evidence, the interpretation and chronological classification especially of the Pre-Muslim remnants cannot be more than tentative.

Pre-Muslim Vestiges: The oldest and most mysterious ruins are a series of caves in the southwestern and southeastern faces of the cliff-cone to the East of Vajragadh Fort. They are cut into the liparite, just under the roof of the basalt layer, and consist of tunnels, 3'2" to 3'10" wide, ca. 3' high and 20', 35', 50' or more generally 60' feet long. At the end is a transversal rectangular chamber, of a little more than man's length, and half the breadth. The bottom of all of them is covered with basalt chips. In two caves a second, irregular tunnel starts from the back of these chambers, in one case partly cut into the ceiling and reached by means of several carefully constructed steps. The tunnels rise slowly (2' in the 60' tunnels) towards the chamber, and have a groove (ca. 3" x 3") along their axis.

Various explanations have been proposed, but none has proved quite satisfactory. The caves cannot have been intended for

human habitation or work. For the tunnels and chambers are so low as to render movement most difficult, and the air inside, without any ventilation, is suffocating. The sole workable theory is that they had been tombs. But no tombs of such a type are known in India, and even a most careful investigation by Mr. M. N. Deshpande, the Archaeological Superintendent, Poona, has revealed not the least vestiges of any corpses ever buried there, or of objects such as used to accompany the deceased.

However, tombs of such a type had been in use in South-Western Asia and Europe, and similar "cavities by which the impurity was led out" had been provided e. g. in the royal sepulchres of Jerusalem. Similar provisions are found in the Parsi Towers of Silence, so that it seems that this had originally been an Irānian custom. The caves of Purandhar had been excavated by means of steel chisels, as is evident from the marks on the walls, and they seem, therefore, not to go back to prehistoric times. Under these circumstances the most plausible theory would be that the caves had been intended as tombs for one of the barbarian dynasties which invaded the North-Western Deccan, but that they were abandoned when the latter were converted to some Indian religion.

Whether we have to associate with these caves another one in the cliffs of the Shindī Burj, is difficult to determine. It is a small rectangular chamber, however without a tunnel and, instead, provided with arrangements for a closing slab. The type is not less unusual in India, but was likewise known in South-Western Asia, though generally at a later period.

Other pre-Muslim vestiges are irregular, meandering walls constructed of gigantic blocks, mostly of very crude workmanship but in some cases also most carefully dressed. The first type of masonry was used in protohistoric times, e. g. at Rājgir, but also in the Middle Ages, e. g. at Īdar and Tārangā Hill in Northern Gujarāt. The second is characteristic for Mediaeval Hindu architecture; in fortresses it can be traced e. g. at Sātārā, Pāvā-gadh, etc. Walls of the crude masonry type can be traced on Upper Purandhar Fort on top of Rājvāda Hill, by the side of Ābāji Purandhare's Palace, under the Bahmanī hall, and on the southside of the adjoining plateau; then around the Lower Fort;

and on Vajragadh, partly inside, partly below the Muslim fortifications of the upper fort, and on one weak point on the northern cliffs of lower Vajragadh Fort where later a postern-gate was inserted. Well dressed gigantic blocks stand on the Upper Fort not far from the just mentioned cyclopic wall, in the Lower Fort in the wall connecting the Shindī Burj with the Machi enclosure, and south of the Khandkada Bastion. Though most of these walls seem to have been repaired under Muslims and Marāthās, part of them must go back to Mediaeval Hindu times, protecting some settlement on the Machi and a fortress on Purandhar and Vajragadh. This is especially obvious in the case of the wall under the Bahmanī hall and Ābāji Purandhare's Palace. It is now situated at some distance behind the Bahmanī bastions, but these latter support an artificial terrace constructed at a spot where the natural cliffs had been exceptionally low. The cyclopic wall on the top of the original escarpment, therefore, must represent the pre-Bahmanī, i. e. Mediaeval Hindu fortification of the Upper Fort.

These conclusions are corroborated by other observations. Both forts have quite a number of tanks cut into the rock, some of them half-subterranean cisterns, with rock-cut steps leading down. One of them, later on built into the Nizām-Shāhī Palace, is of most unusual, i. e. hemispherical shape and looks most archaic. Into this same palace also two other tanks, one of them the Sakharī Talāo, were included. Several others are found near the Khandkada Bastion and in the lower section of Vajragadh Fort. Cisterns can be traced in the upper fort of Vajragadh, around Rājvāda-Kedāresvar hill and along the road leading up to Kedāresvar Temple. Though nothing is known about the time of excavation of these tanks and cistern, it is more probable that they are of pre-Muslim times. For since the coming of the Muhammedans tanks were constructed more generally by damming up valleys or depressions than by excavating the rock.

Another excavation just below the Delhi Gate leading up to Upper Purundhar Fort, offers an even more difficult problem. It can be explained as a cistern to catch the water collected in the moat once excavated in front of the Bahmanī "Ganesh" Gate and later filled in by the construction of the Delhi Gate.

But this interpretation proves not satisfactory at all. The moat across the cliffs could catch, and the "cistern" hold only little water. And the position of the latter would rather have endangered the fortifications on top, indeed would have easily lent itself for undermining the Bāvata Burj, whereas its value for the garrison must have been unimportant. It seems, therefore, more probable that it goes back to the pre-Muslim period. It is unfinished and offers a very good idea of the methods of ancient Indian cave excavation. The rock was not chiselled away, chip for chip, but only grooves were cut out with holes in the bottom; apparently these were filled with dry wood which thereafter was wetted so as to burst off whole blocks. However, the plan of this unfinished cave resembles rather a Buddhist vihāra or Hindu cave temple. If so, it would permit us to trace the history of Purandhar back for many more centuries, possibly as far as the mysterious caves in the cliff cone east of Vajragadh. But the evidence is too flimsy as to venture on any definite assertions.

However, some other evidence might be adduced. On the Bhonchika-Met, at the foot of the Fateh Burj, there lie a broken līṅga and yoni of considerable size and careful, though simple workmanship. Another desecrated līṅga with its yoni is to be seen on Vajragadh, near the westernmost bastion. As the Marāthās built, and the British respected Hindu temples such a desecration can have been committed only by the Muslims; with other words, both līṅgas must be pre-Muslim. The present Kedāreśvar Mahādeva Temple was erected by the Peshwās, but the cult place is said to be very old. As the first līṅga lies on a spot where it could easily have landed when thrown down from Kedāreśvar Hill, may we regard it as the last remnant of a pre-Muslim Hindu temple? At Vajragadh at present only a late Māruti temple is found. But the old name of the place, Rudramālā, proves that it had likewise been dedicated to Mahādeva, and probably the heavy desecrated līṅga there may go back to another Hindu sanctuary of pre-Muslim times.

Though all these vestiges point to the existence of a Hindu settlement and of temples at Purandhar-Vajragadh during the pre-Muslim Middle Ages, no corroborating epigraphic or historical evidence could hitherto be traced. But from the Bahmanī

period onwards we are on firm ground, at least as far as the general history of the two forts is concerned. And also their architectural history can be reconstructed with considerable certainty, as a lot of traditions are preserved, and as monuments elsewhere permit us to check and correct those traditions.

Early Bahmanī Period (A. D. 1348-1427) : It seems that the civil wars resulting from the tyranny of sultān Muhammad Tughluq were responsible for the construction of the Muslim forts on Purandhar and Wazirgadh. After the defeat of the imperial governor Sartiz and the relief of Daulatābād Zafar Khān (Hasan Gangū), the founder of the Bahmanī dynasty, must have thought it desirable to strengthen his frontiers against a possible return of the sultān from Gujarāt, and his attention must have been drawn to the so well situated, though by now antiquated Hindu forts on the forbidding mountain stock. In A. D. 1350 he had the two upper forts repaired and garrisoned. His son Mahmūd I began to modernize them in A. D. 1384, and to extend the fortifications also over the comparatively well defensible lower plateau of Wazirgadh. However, the not so strong lower fort of Purandhar, the Machi, remained neglected until the 17th century. The constructions of that time are easily discernible because of their massive character, their slightly convex, sloping walls of enormous, roughly cut, but regular blocks, and their very broad towers and bastions with comparatively high and spacious embrasures (at Wazirgadh Gate later on closed) very similar to the fortifications of the Tughluq dynasty of Delhi, or the circumvallations of Gulbarga and Bidar or even of Sholapur and the Citadels of Ahmadnagar and of Bijāpur which latter belongs to the early Ādilshāhī period. The fortifications generally follow the edge of the cliffs, though at a distance of 10-40 feet behind the actual precipice according to the varying weathering of the rocks. None of the earlier bastions projects to the actual edge of the very imposing, steep and narrow spurs of the basalt cliffs.

Wazirgadh Fort then covered only the centre of the upper plateau, round a group of isolated cliffs, and its first north-western wall runs about 20-40 feet behind the present gate. In 1384 Mahmūd I built the line of towers direct on top of the southern cliffs — one of the weak spots of the fort — and the strong gate-

way to the North-West. This latter shows the characteristic Bahmani system with the entrance lying somewhat behind the one tower (cp. Gulbarga, Bidar, Bijāpur Citadel); only the inner gate, however, with some relief rosettes in the spandrels, belongs to this period. About the same time also the fortification of the lower fort (to the east of the upper fort) must have been begun. At least the inner semi-circular shield wall dividing the lower fort into two halves was completed, and the bastion on the cliffs at the eastern end started. However, the lower fort can never have played more than a complementary role. For the sole access to it is by a small arched gate in the south-east wall of the upper fort.

Also *Purandhar* hill proper was at that time only partly fortified. The early fort, probably identical with the former Hindu citadel, comprised the narrow plateau behind the Ganesh Gate and apparently half of the more spacious area later occupied by the Nizāmshāhī Palace. Where this plateau falls down, in a step of ca. 8 feet, to the ridge linking up with the Khāndkada plateau, a broad moat, cut into the rock, protected the "Ganesh" Gate (only the inner gate then) and the gigantic Bāvata (Banner) Burj with the Bāvata Gate and a, now destroyed, third tower behind. The fine, rather small, ogival arch of the Ganesh gate — similar to that of Wazīrgadh — rests on two semi-octagonal pilasters, an arrangement which recurs in the Bēgampura Mosque at Delhi (late Tughluq style). On top of the arch the wall is decorated with three sculptures, the sole surviving examples of this time at Purandhar: To the right and left lions of the type often found in the art of the Deccan, but without elephants in their paws: the coat of arms of the Bahmanis! (Cp. for instance the Barā Darwāza at Gāwīlgarh, Berār, built by Ahmad Shāh Walī A. D. 1445). Whether the central figure after which the gate is named, originally was intended as a Ganesh, is doubtful. It rather looks like one of the flower-buds so common on the crest of Deccanī arches, but disfigured by corrosion and calcareous sinter to something reminding of a sitting Ganesh.

In the projecting tower to the left there is the entrance to a now closed, subterranean passage. It is said to have been acce-

ssible for ca. 300 yards, but no information about its direction and character is available. According to tradition it leads to Wazīrgadh, but no opposite exit can be traced. At which time it had been constructed, is neither known: in any case it was out of use already in the 17th century. The original access to this double gate and its moat must have been via the gap in the cliffs of the Khāndkāda ridge which later on was closed by a Khirkī gate.

On the northern side Mahmūd I broadened the narrow plateau behind the gates by a terrace supported by a wall with six bastions (one later renovated). At the sixth tower there are clear indications that the wall turned to the South across the great plateau. The foundations of the latter are now completely hidden under later debris, but a slight depression between the mosque and the zenāna quarters of the Nizāmshāhī palace seems to indicate an old moat.

Most early Bahmanī buildings inside this fort must have made room for the palace of the Nizāmshāhī period. There remain only the eastern half of a great hall, erected on Mediaeval Hindu foundations, and covered with a vault curved like the arches of the Jāmi Masjid at Gulbarga (A. D. 1367); the foundations of the present mosque; and part of a wall round the old hemispherical tank nearby which probably had become necessary because of the now higher level of the surrounding plateau.

Late Bahmanī Period (A. D. 1427-1486): Already in the late Bahmanī period the fortifications of Purandhar were considerably strengthened. The fortification system became more coherent and scientific, envisaging a stronger defence especially of the key bastions at the ends of the cliff spurs, and a better control of the intermediate cliff walls from projecting points. The masonry work used in these constructions still is very heavy, but less than in the earlier structures; occasionally also somewhat slimmer towers are used, and the wall embrasures are of the narrower type found in the later fortifications of Bidar, the tomb of Mahmūd Shāh (A. D. 1482-1518), or the city walls of Bijāpur.

At *Wazīrgadh* the northern and western exterior circumvallations of the upper fort and most of the walls of the lower forts

must then have been constructed or repaired. All these walls have much less towers than those of the 14th century. Also the eastern bastion was completed, and a very small, now closed postern-gate inserted into the fortifications along the northern cliffs between the inner shield-wall and the lower tanks. It passes through the East wall of a bastion projecting over a cliff considerably lower than the rest of the fortifications, and once gave access to a very steep and dangerous path down a gap in the cliffs.

In *Purandhar* the fortification system was likewise extended over the whole mountain. The very high and difficult cliffs on the North-West, West and South-West sides could easily be controlled by a line of separate watch towers, with attached small guard houses, on projecting positions. Prominent amongst these are only the Fateh Burj, on the southern, the Konkāṇī Burj on the south-western, and Hathī Burj on the small western cliff spur of the Kedāreśvar hill.

But the low and riven cliffs of the ridge leading to the eastern Khāṇdkada bastion, of the whole northern front between the old fort and the North-Western Shindī bastion, and of a gap on the South-Eastern side, at the present Khāṇdkada Darwāza, demanded special attention. The original intention seems to have been to transform the Khāṇdkada cliffs into a third fort. Two strong towers on the Southeast side, with their connecting wall section, the Khāṇdkada Burj, another tower at the entrance from the ridge leading to the Ganesh Gate, and finally a tank on the South-West side were started. But then the plan must have been abandoned, and only the two last-mentioned structures were completed. Instead, the gap in the ridge which once seems to have been the access to the Upper Fort, was bridged by a fortified causeway, with a small postern (Khirkī) gate on the southern side. This postern (now walled up) is, from the inside, reached by a narrow winding staircase, from the outside by a small ramp leading down a cliff band to the jungle-decked hillslope. The passage over the ridge, partly cut into the rock, finally ended in two low towers opposite the Ganesh Gate, the southern end of the moat being left unfortified, inaccessible as it is over the cliffs.

As another access now became necessary, this was cut out of the cliffs inside the northern end of the moat in front of the

Ganesh Gate. This passage was protected by a simple lower gate in a wall once passing across the present road near the Māruti shrine (of Marāthā date), and could be covered from the Bāvata Burj on top. The last section of this road is formed by a ramp built-up against the lowermost cliffs, as in most of these hill forts ; but the original ramp was steeper than the present one. The cave beneath it, finally, was closed and transformed into a magazine.

To the West the old fort received a new protection in the repaired Hindu Bala-Killa on the top of the adjoining Rājvāda hill. Its entrance lay on the East side and, thus, was within the range of missiles both from the Bala-Killa and from the fort. South of it a strong wall closed the weak position at the later Khāndda Gate. But its course, reaching far down the cliffs, makes it probable that even at that time at least a small postern gate led down to an intermittant spring beneath. More important were the fortifications along the northern cliffs. These fortifications, however, were situated ca. 20-30 feet behind the present walls which have been erected under the Nizāmshāhīs. They extended to some distance beyond their chief bastion, the strong and important Shindī Burj. Above the present Roman-Catholic Church another postern-gate was inserted into this wall, with a long and devious path between it and the cliffs ; the lower end of this path, cut into the rock, was reached by a steep flight of steps built against the cliff side.

The Shindī Burj has three storeys, the lowermost of which (added under the Nizāmshāhīs) hangs direct over the precipice. The access to the middle gallery — rather a small court —, is by a ramp on the West side ; a narrow, almost buried gate on its eastern end leads to the lowermost small gallery. An old tradition connects this Shindī bastion with a great treasure of two and half crores of Rupees and two persons buried alive in its foundations. These latter are said to have been sacrificed in order to pacify the spirits of the spot which had again and again destroyed the fortifications. The tradition is actually mentioned in a copper-plate grant purporting to have been issued in A. D. 1191 by the king of

Bidar. This grant obviously is a clumsy fake, probably of the middle 17th century. Also the dimensions of the Shindī Bastion would have been too small for the treasure and its vaults mentioned therein. Nevertheless the fake may have been based on a genuine tradition, and even its date may be not quite wrong; for the Hijrī year 587, whether written in Arabic or Nagari letters, might well be a mistake for 887, i. e. A. D. 1491, marking the last turbulent time of nominal Bahmanī rule. There can be no doubt that the building of the Shindī Bastion must have been a very difficult task, as it was necessary to cut away all the weathered parts of the rock on the very edge of the precipice. It may well have cost number of victims. As the tradition of human sacrifices buried alive is found in connection with many fortresses and palaces in India, even of the Mughal period, and as it is very common also in other countries, we have no reason to doubt the actual former existence of suchlike sacrifices. Several of the Muslim sultans of the Deccan had been interested in Hindu magic, part of their greatest nobles had been of Hindu origin; the killadars of Purandhar seem to have been mostly Hindus, and in a time of unrest superstitious practices always tend to crop up. It is, thus, quite plausible that the frightened masons were induced to continue their work by committing such a superstitious act. But the great treasure must be a product of popular fairy tales; for chaotic times could never afford to bury two and a half crores of Rupees in gold bricks in one bastion of one of many strong fortresses. Though it is, of course, not impossible that in a very small vault, possibly under the middle gallery, some gilded copperplates with magic formulas and diagrams have been deposited by the side of the unfortunate victims. Yet it is impossible to ascertain the truth without pulling down the whole big bastion. An attempt to find the treasure made by English soldiers was abandoned, after they had with dynamite blasted a big hole into the West side of the middle bastion.

Inside the old Purandhar Fort the great early Bahmanī hall (later on repaired by Ābāji Purandhare and included in his palace)

¹ Published in the "Transactions of the Bombay Geographical Society", vol. I, pp. 191-258 and mentioned also in the "Poona District Gazetteer".

was expanded on the West side. Outside the old fort probably the later Zanāna garden of the Nizamshāhī palace seems to have been laid out, possibly also the two big rectangular tanks with their steps nearby, especially the Sakhari Talāo.

The Nizām-Shāhī (Ahmadnagar) Period (A. D. 1486-1627) :
The fortifications of Purandhar were again brought up-to-date under the later Nizām-Shāhīs when the introduction of fire arms, guns and powder mines as well as rifles, and the increasing threat of Mughal imperialism demanded a defence system giving more protection and permitting not only to concentrate more defenders at exposed points, but also to control the foot of the cliffs. The architecture of this time is more gracious, the stones employed are considerably smaller, but extremely well dressed and profiled. Towers are slim, the parapets decked with semi-circular coping stones. Great quantities of these stones have been re-employed in the British buildings. The numerous narrow loopholes for guns and matchlocks in these parapets are arranged for alternating shooting levels. Simple Muslim architecture ornaments are comparatively common, arches low (like in the earlier buildings of Bijāpur) and combined with Hindu architraves.

At *Wazīrgadh* the defence lines were at last completed. The bastion at the eastern end was reduplicated by a lower exterior wall erected on top of the lower cliffs. Access to it is over a stair down to a small port-hole, with an ogival arch on top of a Hindu lintel, broken through the south side of the bastion. For this eastern bastion had always been a weak point of Wazīrgadh as the cliffs, rising in several steps, offer a good opportunity to attackers protected by many dead corners. Nevertheless the narrowness of the adjoining ridge seems to have discouraged any serious attack from this side. The main entrance to the fort was likewise strengthened by an exterior gate with battlements, lambrequins, meandering creeper ornaments above the arch (as in the contemporary buildings at Ahmadnagar, Bijapur and Golconda), and door hinges in all the corners of the gate vault.

Most of the civil buildings whose foundations are still to be seen, may have been erected in this time when the population of the two forts seems to have reached its highest figure. In the

upper fort they occupied, round several quadrangular courts, the plateau to the West and Northwest of the central cliffs, and accompanied, on a higher terrace, the fortifications of the south side. Natural rocks, and towers were incorporated into this system by means of connecting flights of steps. To the lower fort the road wound down through several courts lying on successive terraces. Other buildings occupied the plateaus to the North of the lower tanks, behind the East end bastion and finally the slope between the northern interior and exterior defence lines.

At *Purandhar* an exterior gate, with steps and a slim flanking tower, was added in the corner between the two huge Bahmani bastions of the Ganesh Darwāza. The moat was filled up and into it the Delhi Gate, with its nice mouldings in the style of the middle 16th century, was set, together with the rampart linking it up with the new gate in front of the Ganesh Gate. In both cases the walls follow a convex groundline. In this period also the lower prolongation of the ramp parapet must have been added, though it has been largely renewed later on.

In the same manner the narrow defence line over the ridge leading to the Khāndkada plateau was provided with irregular parapets; the postern-gate received a slim defence tower, the Bahmani tower at the entrance to the Khāndkada plateau a lower defence gallery. The Balakilla on Rājvāda hill was on the North side enclosed by a more solid wall with slim towers and a small refuge chamber near its western end. The fortifications between the old fort and the Shindī Burj were advanced towards the precipice. The Khāndkada Burj (now destroyed) was strengthened by a high shield wall with two towers along the North side and by a second gallery below the most exposed bastion; the Fateh Burj on the South spur likewise received a second gallery. The Konkāni Burj on the utmost overhanging end of the West spur was completely reconstructed, and the mighty Shindī Burj amplified by the lowermost third gallery (The original tower system is now included in sections of all its three galleries).

In view of this strengthening of all fortifications along the cliffs the West wall of the old Purandhar Fort, at the foot of the Rājvāda hill, proved no more necessary. After it had been sloped, a great palace which had been begun already in late Bahmani

times, could be expanded over the whole plateau so that at last it covered an area of 441' x 241', resp. 328'. With the exception of the mosque and of a pavilion rebuilt by the Peshwā Mādhav Rāo I the palace is now completely destroyed, but can be easily recognized, as its walls are still standing up to a height of two to five feet. As far as the groundplan of the ruins permits some conclusion, the pavilion (65' x 36½') to the North-East rebuilt by Mādhav Rāo had been the Jharokhā for public durbārs kept in an open square to its East, between the eastern wing of the palace and the Northern castle wall. On its West side probably the Diwān-i-Khāss court had been. Along a number of rooms a ramp leads from there to a block of buildings around two tanks, the greater of which is the Sakharī Talāo (the Sugar Tank). These buildings seem to have been the zenāna; it ends in a garden and garden pavilion at the foot of the Rājvāda hill. The mosque adjoins the Diwān-i-Khāss court to the South. It is a small, rather ruined building (26' x 18'), probably going back to late Bahmanī times. Its three vaults rest on broad, low keel arches of the type found in the Lodi buildings of Delhi, the early Barid tombs at Bidar or the earliest 'Ādilshāhī structures at Bijāpur; the niches have trifoliated and cusped arches as in Ahmadnagar and Bijāpur, or the concave-pointed arching traceable in many Rājput monuments of the middle 16th century; the octagonal pillars are of a simple Hindu type. The tract around the mosque must have been occupied by administrative and garrison buildings. The rooms to the South of the zenāna make the impression of servants quarters and outhouses.

Another complex of buildings, comprising a series of three quadrangles, stood on the Fateh Burj spur. And vestiges of many barracks are found along most of the fortifications.

The Early Marāthā (Mughal and Ādilshāhī) Period (A. D. 1627-1665): Already towards the end of the 16th century Purandhar passed to Māloji, grandfather of Śivāji, when Bahādur Nizām Shāh granted him Poona and Sūpa; and it remained also with his son Shāhajī. But no archaeological vestiges of this time can be traced, except perhaps a barbarian memorial stone for a warrior, with shield and sabre in his hands, on the plateau below the northern bastion of Wazīrgadh. First the Mughal

siege of A. D. 1627 gave occasion to another change in the fortification system. It seems that the Mughals tried to blow up the strong Khāndkada Bastion by means of a mine driven into the rock, just north of a circumvallation of unidentified date around its foot.¹

As already mentioned, the lower fort (Machi) of Purandhar seems to have been occupied already in the Mediaeval Hindu period. But neither the Bahmanis nor the Nizāmshāhis appear to have fortified it. The Mughals must, therefore, not have encountered any difficulties in reaching the northern foot of the Khāndkada Burj. But the fort was taken before the mine was blown up so that its bifurcated tunnel as well as most of the fine bastion above are still intact. On this occasion the Nizāmshāhi palace seems to have been destroyed. For the careful exemption of the mosque makes it probable that the work of destruction had been committed by Muslim troops, whereas during the next siege of Purandhar in A. D. 1665 we find the upper fort already unoccupied.²

The settlement on the Machi grew apparently from the Mughal camps opposite the Delhi Darwāza, the Shindi and the Khāndkada Burj. The only house ruin of this time is the fine terrace on which later on the Peshwā palace was erected. Whether the fortification was begun already after the occupation of the place by the Mughals in A.D. 1629, or only after its return to

¹ Nothing is known about this mine, but it cannot be earlier than the late 16th century when powder came into full use. It can neither be later than the middle of the 17th, as it is within the Machi walls already existing during the siege of 1665, and as during later attacks no fighting in this part of the fort is mentioned. As the Mughals were great mining engineers whereas the Marāthas preferred surprise escalades, it must belong to a Mughal siege, and the only one in this time is that of A. D. 1627.

² According to a local tradition Shāhajī was interned by the Bijāpur authorities as a hostage for the good behaviour of Śivājī in a little vault (without any vestiges of a former door) of the Nizāmshāhi gate in the Gaṇesh Darwāza. Though this story is incorrect, it is possible that Shāhajī's name was later on conferred on some other political prisoner who had been kept in this place. As it would have been impossible to confine a prominent prisoner to this hole, the whole court between the two gates must have been used as a prison. And as this was the only then existing good access to the interior of the upper fort, this is further evidence that the latter must then have been unoccupied.

Bijāpur in A. D. 1637, when Shāhaji had made his peace with the Mughals by delivering into their hands his protégé, the last child king of the Nizāmshāhi house, this can no more be ascertained. For most of these later walls have been sloped by the British. Only by the side of the Bīnī Gate some yards of this Mughal circumvallation remain. The fortification of the Machi must have recommended itself in many ways. It protected not only the foot of the two most exposed and important bastions, but it blocked also the access to best bases for an attack against the central fort. This fortification line must have been completed before 1647, the year when Śivāji took the place by a coup-de-main. The masonry is rather crude and of hasty workmanship, with the exception of the Bīnī Gate which continues the fine Ādilshāhi tradition, though in a later and less elegant mixed style. For whereas the pointed horseshoe arch of its front is crowned by a trefoil battlement frieze, the back shows a rounded keel-arch, and the guard niche early Mughal architraves and ceiling.

On the East side the fortifications seem not yet to have extended to the line of A.D. 1665, but stretched from the lowest saddle of the Bhairav Khind down the hill slope South of the present Padmāvati Tank. Thus when the population of the Machi increased, the shortage of water must have become rather painful. Śivāji, therefore, constructed the great Padmāvati Tank in the valley between the Khāndkada plateau and the Bhairav Khind which connects Purandhar with Wazirgadh (now called Vajragadh). It is a fine work, at present on four sides surrounded by plain walls; but in Marāthā times it possessed ghāts on the East and possible also on the South side (their two lowermost Eastern courses are still to be seen on the ground of the tank); fragments of some stone pillars, a broken līnga basis, etc. point also to one or several small temples along its embankment.

But the construction of the Padmāvati Tank involved an alteration of the fortification line which had to be pushed forward to a less favourable position behind another incision higher up the Bhairav Khind. For the new fortifications faced a hillock overlooking them from nearby. This weakness was somewhat balanced by the fact that that hillock could be kept under fire from Vajragadh. Yet in consideration of these disadvantages Śivāj

built two defence lines, one behind the other, over the ridge. The first had three towers, of which two were the so-called "White Towers" (because they had been whitewashed?), the other centred round the strong "Black Tower" (Shāhbūrj). Whereas the North Gate and the wall leading up from the tank to the ridge can still be traced, the ruins of the chief fortifications were completely destroyed by the contractors building the British hill sanitarium. For all the present buildings on this spot are constructed of Marāṭha stone work. There are, however, still three slight elevations which mark the place of the three famous towers. Of the Bharrad Darwāza, on the South side of the Bhairav Khind, the foundations of the eastern tower are now built into a bungalow terrace, those of the left one destroyed or buried beneath another terrace.

The Siege of Purandhar by Mahārājā Jai Singh in A. D. 1665 :¹
 We have already mentioned several facts which became fatal during the famous siege of A. D. 1665, so fateful for the career of Śivājī and for the whole future of the Marāṭhā Empire : The abandonment of the upper fort and the vulnerability of the fortifications on the Bhairav Khind. We can here not go into the details of that famous siege. But its traces are still to be seen in a number of places. On all the hill spurs round Purandhar and Vajragadh foundations of old buildings and small tanks are to be seen which may have been erected by the besieging Mughal army ; the most important of them are on the edge of the plateau at the foot of the Kōṅkāni Burj. Over the long and slowly rising spur on the North side of Vajragadh Turktāz Khān brought his guns against the, in this place, not very high cliffs. Somewhat to the West of the northern bastion of Vajragadh the slopes still are covered with the gigantic blocks blown up by Mughal mines in the night of the 13th April 1665 whereafter Vajragadh had been escalated. The hillock and the Bhairav Khind overlooking the "White" and "Black" Towers of the Machi has already been mentioned. It was stormed by the troops of Dillīr Khān on the 30th March, and the vestiges of the wādā there are still to be seen, as well as of the Mughal trenches and rock shelters around the western and

¹ Cp. Jadunath Sarkar, *History of Aurangzeb*, IV, 1930, pp. 82 ff.; H. Goetz, *Notes on the Siege of Purandhar by Mahārājā Jai Singh*, *Poona Orientalist*, VII, pts. 3-4, pp. 181-186, Oct. 1942 - Jan. 1943.

northern sides of the hillock. But as the declivity of the ridge and some isolated rocks there offered merely an insufficient protection against the fire of Vajragadh, the attack on the line of the "White Towers" could be begun only after the fall of that fort. After six weeks of preparations, bombardments and assaults from the hillock the two defence lines over the Bhairav Khind fell. On the 2nd of June the defenders of Purandhar asked for a truce which was followed by the treaty of Purandhar on the 11th. Nevertheless this sudden collapse of Marāthā resistance might seem surprising; for the impregnable upper fort had not yet been attacked at all. But by that time, some weeks before the break of the monsoon, the 2000 defenders and their following of ca. 5-6000 persons (on the evacuation 7000 persons left the Machi) must have been without a drop of water, as even at the present day the much improved water supply is sufficient only for ca. 500 persons. And to hold out at the price of terrible losses until the monsoon would likewise have been useless; for the upper fort had been left unoccupied and could offer for the garrison neither shelter against the rains, nor had it any storage opportunities for food.

Purandhar A. D. 1665-1760: In A. D. 1670 Purandhar was scaled, for Śivājī, by Sūryajī Mālusre; in A. D. 1705 it fell again before the emperor Aurangzeb, in A. D. 1707 it was retaken by Śankrājī Nārāyan Sachiv, an adherent of Tārābāi, the widow of Rājaram (1689-1700). After Shāhū had been established as Chatrapati, the first Peshwā Bālājī Vishvanāth acquired Purandhar, so near to his family headquarter at Sāsvad, from the mother of the Pant Sachiv, in return for the latter's release from Hingangāon where he had been imprisoned by Damājī Thorāt, a partisan of Kolhapur. Also Mahārājā Shāhū visited Purandhar.

But rather few monuments of this agitated time are extant. In the first place the many Portuguese guns are to be mentioned which tradition ascribes to Śivājī. But it is much more probable that they belong to the booty brought home, like the Portuguese church bell in the Mahādev Temple of Bhīmaśamkar, from the victorious campaign against Bassein and Thāna in A. D. 1739. For the guns are of a late, iron type; not to speak of the obvious observation that Śivājī's guns would probably have been removed

after two Mughal occupations. At that time also a mighty gun tower was added to the wall West of the Bini Gate, dominating the lower terrace over which the road winds up to the gate. Maharaja Chhatra is said to have begun a palace on the Rājvāda Hill, and actually some foundations along the wall overlooking the Machi could be traced; but they can have belonged only to some light summer pavilion. The sole remarkable structure of this period is the Khāndda Darwāza in the south-eastern wall of the Upper Fort, on a spot where already in Bahmani times there had probably been a postern gate. The Khāndda Darwāza is copied on Ādilshāhi models, and its excellent masonry work, its rectangular wall corners and its plain, but beautifully proportioned gate facade (resembling an exaggerated mihrab niche) compare most favourably with the heavy and crude early fortification walls around. Although only "one of the Peshwās" is mentioned as its builder, its sober eclectic style is characteristic for the time of Bālāji Bāji Rao I. The gate (now walled up) was reserved for the priests of the Kedāreśvar Temple on the top of the fort.

The Golden Age of Purandhar under Mādhav Rāo I (A. D. 1761-72): Although during the minority of Mādhav Rāo I the regent Raghunāth Rāo granted Purandhar to Ābāji Purandhare in A. D. 1762, Purandhar became practically the summer residence of that great Peshwā. For Mahādāji Ābāji Purandhare, a Deshastā brāhmaṇa and the son of a school friend of Bālāji Viśvanāth, founder of the Peshwā dynasty, was one of the most confidential and trusted allies of the Peshwā family. Both he and Mādhav Rāo I vied with each other in embellishing the place with new buildings.

Unfortunately Mādhav Rāo's palace has been almost completely destroyed. For its stones, like those of all the old secular buildings in the Lower Fort, have been used for the bungalows of the present hill station. Of Raghunāth Rāo's wādā, near the Bhairav Khind, hardly any traces are left. Yet under a great bungalow above the court of the Purandheśvara temple — which we shall discuss later on — excellent foundations and some steps, pillar bases and a sculptured garden seat are to be seen which may be its last remnants. Vestiges of an old road lead from there up to the Delhi Gate. In the upper fort there still stands the pavilion erected by this Peshwā on the spot of the former durbār Jharokhā of the Muslim

palace. Its ground floor is a granary, like those few others built at the same period on the plateau, especially the fine great store-house on the south-eastern slope of Rājvāda hill ; its upper storey (partly in bricks), very sober, but well proportioned, has big quadrangular windows looking out over the country. Mādhav Rāo is also the builder of the great Mukarase Talāo, the fine counterpart to Śivāji's Padmāvati (Rājaval) Tank near the West end of the Machi ; its construction, like that of another small tank and well on the Northwest corner of the Bonchika Met, South of the Fateh Burj, permits some conclusion as to the great number of inhabitants in that happy time.

Ābaji Purandhare was an even greater builder than the Peshwā whose interests, of course, were absorbed by many other problems. His palace lies in the upper fort, in the area between the Ganesh Gate and the ruins of the Muslim palace. It is an enclosure with several separate buildings, amongst them the repaired Bahmanī hall. The oblong houses have one to three rooms, very massive, with heavy, bomb-proof vaults. Notwithstanding their size, however, their artistic value is small, and they breathe a rather rustic atmosphere.

Of much greater interest are the two great temples, the Kedāresvara Mahādev Temple on the summit of Purandhar Hill, and the Purandheśvar temple in the Machi. The first is a fine building (Cella 12' 7" x 12' 7", mandapa 16' 1" x 18' 5", on a broad double terrace), of simple form and ornamentation, but of excellent taste. The Nandi Mandapa (6' 4" x 6' 4") in front is a small chhattri on Deccanī-Hindu (Hemadpanthī) columns. The temple group in the Lower Fort, below the Peshwā's palace and on the back of the present post office, is on the whole of the same type. The greatest shrine, the Purandheśvar (Cella 15½' x 15', mandapa 22' x 21', ardhmandapa 10½' x 8½') stands in the centre of a large paved court, surrounded by an enclosure with an exterior gate in front and another with steps on the down-hill side. The second, also dedicated to Śiva (42½' x 12'), occupies the right back corner of the court, the third, probably later, shrine (dedicated to

Māruti is situated just outside the lateral entrance. Before the principal temple again a Nandi pavilion, and then two chabutrās.¹

These temples — and likewise the bomb-proof houses and magazines — represent a type of architecture peculiar to the Marāthā country. They are rather plain, quadrangular buildings, the smaller ones almost cubes, the greater ones two cubes (a smaller for the cella, a somewhat bigger one for the mandapa, and sometimes a small ardhmandapa on pillars in front) with low, pyramidal roofs. This type, originally with step-roofs, represents a rural degeneration of the Mediaeval Hindu temple evolved during the early period of Muslim rule. In the early and middle 18th century it became more refined again, but this refinement was the result of, often archaic, Muhammedan influences. Thus, the doors and gates are modelled on the classical Tughluq-Lodī-Bahmanī mihrab niche; wall niches are of Lodī, Bahmanī or Mughal type; the cornice hails either from the Bijāpurī (Purandheśvar) or from the late Mughal tradition (Kedāreśvar); the low roof comes from late 16th century Mughal architecture; the Muslim parapet (battlement or lambrequin) design is very common, the pillars, on the other hand, reveal Deccanī-Hindu forms. Since the time of Nānā Farnavīs, however, this type of architecture degenerated or was superseded by richer types more dependent on late Mughal or Rājput models.

There are some other, probably later temples both in the lower forts of Vajragadh (Māruti shrine) and Purandhar (“ Lohār’s ” temple, with two crude Māruti images; Rāmeśvar, now a P. W. D. godown); they are of the same type, but their execution is cruder and much more summary. The store houses on both forts resemble them very much; but they have an oblong groundplan with the entrance in one corner.

The Late Marāthā Period (A. D. 1772-1818): After Mādhav Rāo’s death Purandhar became even more important, serving as a place of refuge in the period of continuous civil wars disrupting the Marāthā Empire. After the assassination of the fifth Peshwā Nārāyan Rāo it became the chief stronghold and residence of his

¹ An unfinished pillar intended for these temples still lies on the Bonchika Met.

widow Gangā Bāi who here gave birth to Savāi Mādhav Rāo, the last noble ruler of the Peshwā house; and likewise it became the seat of the Bar-Bhāi regency council under Nānā Farnavis and Sakhārām Bāpū whenever first the intrigues of Peshwā Raghunāth Rāo and then the civil war against the pretender took some critical turn (A. D. 1774, 1775, 1776, 1778). Here the treaty of Purandhar was signed in A. D. 1775 which though only of temporary effect, meant the first cession of Marāṭha territory to the British. After the suicide of Savāi Mādhav Rāo in A. D. 1795, the empire began to disintegrate. Nānā Farnavis had again to flee to the fort in A. D. 1796, but died four years later so that he had no more to witness the sack of Poona by Holkar in A. D. 1802. In the later reign of the last Peshwā Bāji Rāo II Purandhar did not play any prominent role. In A. D. 1818 it was taken by a British force after a brief bombardment.

Few buildings were added to the monuments of the place in this troubled time, yet those few are of historical interest. Nānā's house, by the side of the Peshwā's palace, has been destroyed like the latter, but its foundations can still be traced, above those of the Biniwalla's (Quartermaster's) compound near the Bini Gate. Near that latter there is also a temple where offerings were laid down on the occasion of the birthday of the child Peshwā. It is of the same type as the other shrines in the fort, cubic, with a low pyramidal roof; but the cusped arches of its interior niches and the lotus knob on its top are evidence of its later style. Also a fine dīpdān by the side of the Kedāreśvar temple must belong to this time; unfortunately exposure to storm and rain has destroyed its beautiful carvings to a deplorable degree and brought half of it to collapse.

East of the foundations of the Peshwā palace the terrace of a former bazar can be traced. Quite a number of bungalows still stand on Marāṭhā foundations, and most of them are built of stones taken from former Marāṭhā buildings. But these bungalows of the British hill sanitarium are simple works of military engineering without artistic pretensions and qualities. And the little church in memory of Lord Frederick Fitzclarence (died A. D. 1856), son of king William IV, is likewise a very provincial product.

EXPLANATION OF THE PLAN OF PURANDHAR AND WAZĪRGADH (VAJRAGADH-RUDRMĀLĀ)

1. *Purandhar*:

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| 1 House ruins, possibly going back to the Mughal siege in A. D. 1665. | 36 Shindī Burj. |
| 2 Three old water basins, cut into the rock. | 37 Rock Chamber in the foot cliffs of the Shindī Burj. |
| 3 Koṅkāṇī Burj. | 38 Hole blown by treasure-hunting British soldiers. |
| 4 Barrack ruins. | 39 Wall connecting the Shindī Burj with the Lower Fort (partly Mediaeval Hindu?). |
| 5 Hāthī Burj. | 40 Tower. |
| 6, 8-15 Watch towers. | 41 Koṅkāṇī Darwāza. |
| 7 Natural caves. | 42 Gun tower. |
| 16 Barrack ruins. | 43 Mukarase Talāo, constructed by Peshwā Mādhav Rāo I. |
| 17 Fateh Burj. | 44 Postern Gate. |
| 18 Small tank constructed by Peshwā Madhav Rāo I. | 45 Sakharī Talāo. |
| 19 Village ruins. | 46 Tank. |
| 20 Marāthā pillar. | 47 Nizāmshāhī Garden and Garden Pavilion. |
| 21 Liṅga (of Mediaeval Kedāresvar Temple?). | 48 Nizāmshāhī Palace. |
| 22 Village ruins. | 49 Late Bahmanī Mosque. |
| 23 Khāndda Darwāza constructed by Peshwā Bāji Rāo I. | 50 Hemispherical archaic Tank. |
| 24 Cistern. | 51 Well-dressed Pre-Muslim (Mediaeval Hindu?) Wall Fragments. |
| 25 Kedāresvar Temple. | 52 Nizāmshāhī Jharokhā (Peshwā Mādhav Rāo I's Pavilion). |
| 26 Late Marāthā Dīpān. | 53 Bastion Line of Mahmūd Shāh I Bahmanī. |
| 27 Flight of steps constructed by Peshwā Bāji Rao I. | 54 Cyclopic Wall (Mediaeval Hindu Fortification?). |
| 28, 29 Cisterns. | 55 Abāji Purandhare's Palace. |
| 30 Rājvāda Fort (Bala-Killa). | |
| 31 Refuge Chamber. | |
| 32 Platform. | |
| 33 Grains store constructed by Abāji Purandhare. | |

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| 56 Bahmanī Hall. | 77 Connecting Wall to Bharrad Burj. |
| 57 Bavata Burj, Ganesh Gate and Underground Passage. | 78 Raghunāth Rāo's Palace (?). |
| 58 Delhi Gate and Māruti Shrine (Nizāmshāhī and Marāthā). | 79 Mughal Mine Tunnel. |
| 59 Filled-up Moat. | 80 Padmāvatī (Rājaval) Talāo constructed by Śivājī. |
| 60 Cave under Bavata Burj (Magazine or Stable, originally Cistern ? or possibly unfinished Hindu Temple or Buddhist Vihāra ?). | 81 Gun Tower and Dam, constructed by Śivājī. |
| 61 Bīnī Gate (Mughal) and Lohār's Temple. | 82 Bharrad Darwāza. |
| 62 Bīnīwalla's Wāda (Foundations). | 83 Pre-Muslim Stone Blocks. |
| 63 Savāī Mādhav Rāo's Temple. | 84 North Gate. |
| 64 Nānā Farnavis' Wāda (Foundations). | 85 Shāh Burj (destroyed). |
| 65 Peshwā's Palace (Foundations). | 86, 87 " White Towers " (destroyed). |
| 66 Purandheśvara Temple. | 88, 89 Mughal Trenches, Wāda Ruins, cliffs. |
| 67 Passage excavated into the Ridge between the Ganesh Gate and the Khāndkada Bastion. | <i>B. Wazīrgaḍh (Vajragāḍh) :</i> |
| 68 Rāmeśvar Temple (P. W. D. Store). | 90 West Bastion and Pre-Muslim Lingam. |
| 69 Ruins of Former Bazar. | 91 South Bastion |
| 70 Khirkī Gate (Nizāmshāhī). | 92 Fortification Line of Mahmūd Shāh I Bahmanī. |
| 71 Gateway (Ruins) to the Khāndkada Plateau. | 93 Inner Terrace (Mediaeval Hindu ?). |
| 72, 73 Tanks. | 94 Tower. |
| 74 Bahmanī shield Wall. | 95 Cistern (Mediaeval Hindu ?) |
| 75 Khāndkada Burj. | 96. House Ruins. |
| 76 Ring Wall. | 97 Central Cliffs. |
| | 98 Principal Gate (Bahmanī and Nizāmshāhī). |
| | 99 Breach in Upper Circumvallation (A. D. 1665 ?). |
| | 100 Mine blown up in A. D. 1665. |
| | 101 Mughal Gun Emplacement A. D. 1665 (?). |
| | 102, 103 Camp Ruins (?). |
| | 104, 105 Towers. |

- | | |
|---|--|
| 106 Pre-Muslim (?) Wall. | 116 Stairs to Lower East-End Bastion. |
| 107 Eastern Shield Wall of Upper Fort (Bahmani). | 117 East-End Bastion (Bahmani and Nizāmshāhī). |
| 108, 109 Barrack Ruins. | 118 Cliffs. |
| 110 Gate to Lower Fort. | 119 Unidentified Caves (Tombs ?). |
| 111 Marāthā Store. | 120 House Ruins. |
| 112 Māruti temple. | 121 Natural Cave. |
| 113 Tanks (Mediaeval Hindu ?). | 122 Modern Village Cult Place. |
| 114 Low-laying Tower and Postern Gate. | |
| 115 Interior Shield Wall of Lower Fort (Bahmani). | |



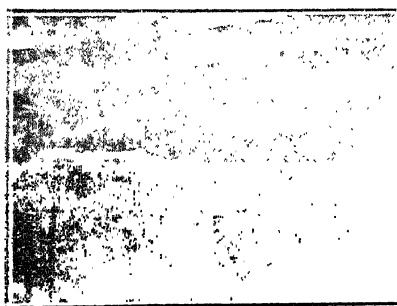
I. 1 Shindi Burj and West end of Madi



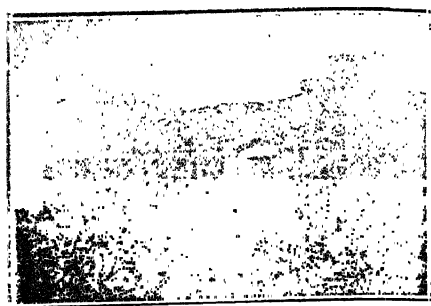
I. 2 Exterior Ganesh Gate and
Bavata Burj



I. 3 Entrance to Vajragadh



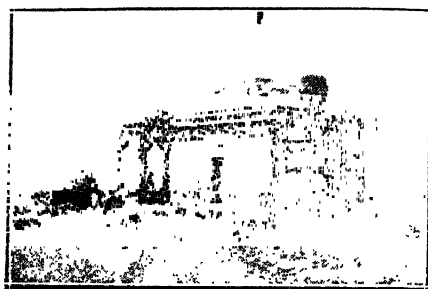
II. 1 Old Tanks in Lower Vajragadh Fort



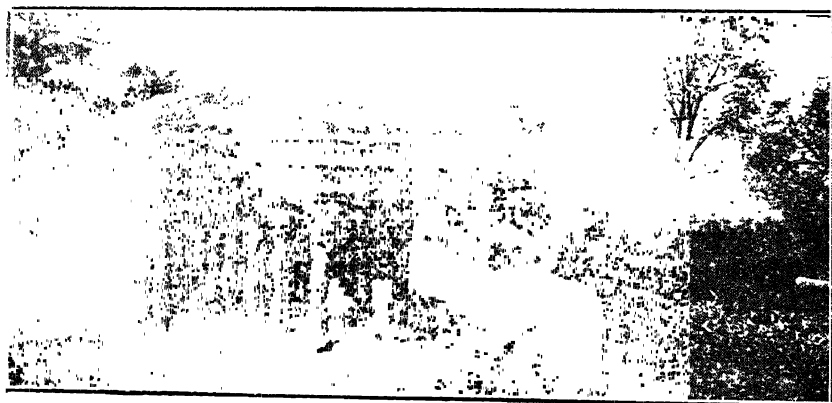
II. 2 Late Bahmanī Mosque in Nizām-Shāhī Palace



II. 3 Bini Darwāza



II. 4 Kedaresvar Temple



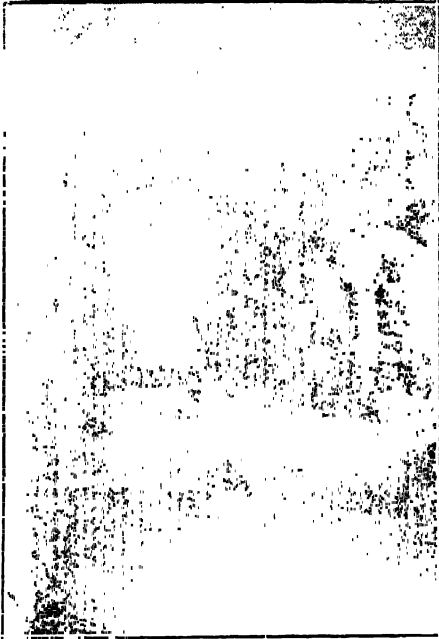
III. 1 Purandhesvar Temple



III. 2 Peshwā Madhav Rao's Pavilion



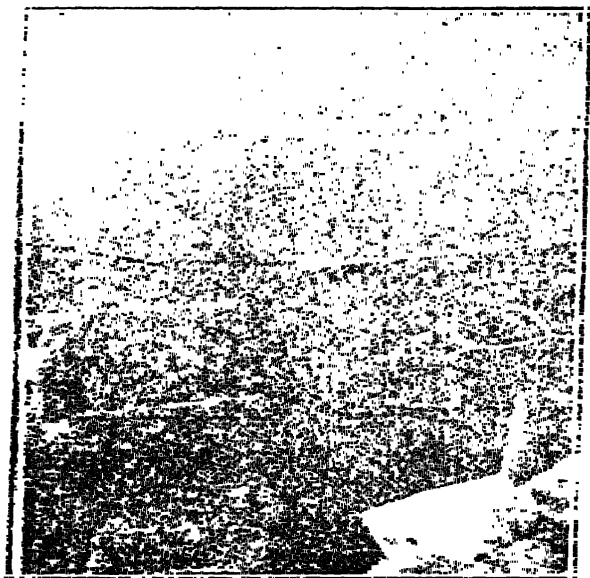
III. 3 Ābāji Purandhare's Magazine



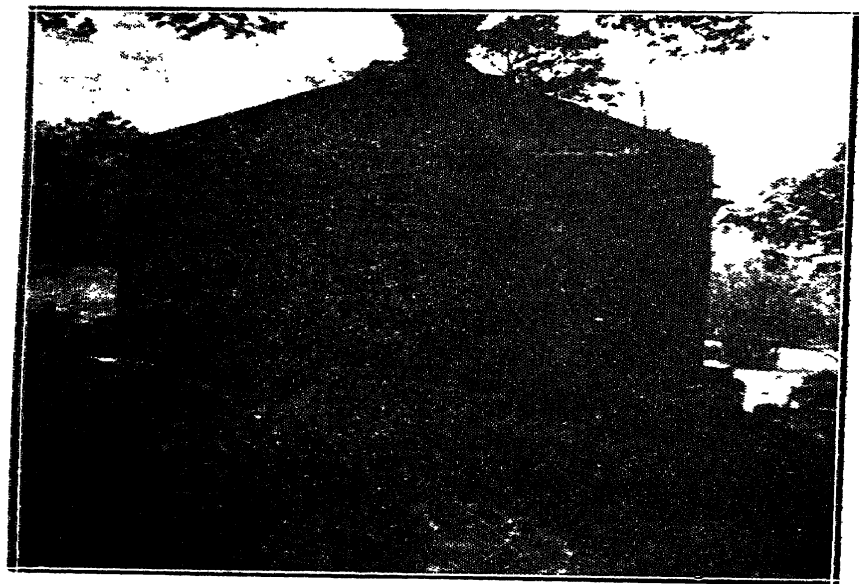
IV. 1 Bahamanī Hall



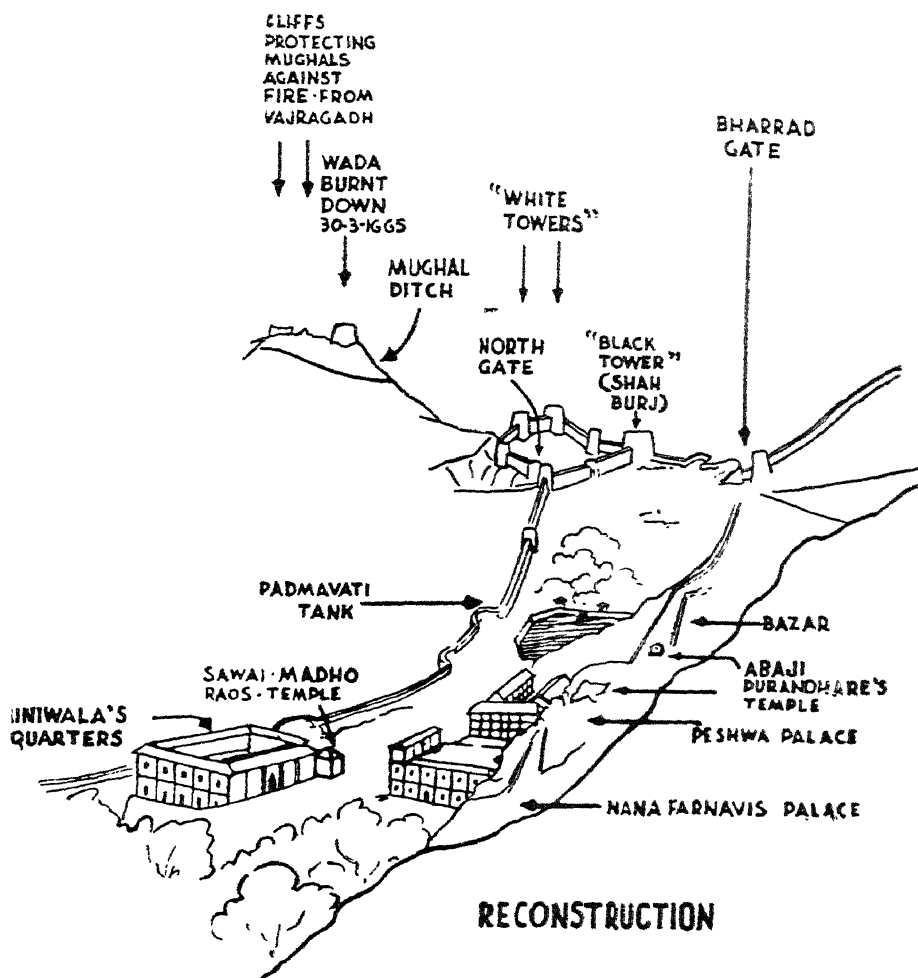
IV 2. Delhi Gate



IV. 3 Khandda Darwāza



IV. 4 Sawai Madho Rao's Temple



ANOTHER VALUABLE COLLECTION OF
BUDDHIST SANSKRIT MANUSCRIPTS

containing among others

The Śrāmaṇya-phala Sūtra in Sanskrit

BY

P. V. BAPAT

Some years ago (about the beginning of the year 1940) Mr. Agah Mahamad Ali Shah of Empress Road, Lahore, (a Captain in the Northern Command Signals, Ravalpindi, in 1946) sent by way of a sample some bits and fragments of birch-bark manuscripts for identification to the Secretary, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona. The fragments of the manuscripts were so brittle that it was impossible to handle them without breaking. Hence the authorities of the Institute got those fragments photographed in an enlarged size and handed them over to me for identification.

On account of my previous literary undertakings, I could not spend much time over the reading of these fragments until the early part of the year 1946. It was only then that I could devote to those fragments my attention and I intend to give in the following pages the results of my study of those fragments.

I had correspondence with Mr. M. A. Shah at his latest residence in 1946 at Ravalpindi (Frontier Province, now Pakistan) and he wrote to me that he had in his possession two collections of the birch-bark Manuscripts, one of about 275 leaves, each measuring approximately 20" × 5", and the other of 100 leaves, each measuring $12\frac{1}{2}$ " × $2\frac{1}{2}$ ". He also reported in his letter received in February 1947 that he had an offer of £ 1,500 from the authorities of the British Museum for those collections but he did not part with them at that time. He appeared to be still unwilling to part with them unless he was offered a price in some thousands in the neighbourhood of the figure mentioned above.

The fragments he had sent to the Bhandarkar Institute contained some big pieces which, with both sides, I have marked (a, b) (c, d) ; (A, B), (R, S). The first two of them were written in a script which may be put somewhere between Gupta or Kuṭila script on the one hand and the old Śāradā Script on the other. Rather it approaches the latter than the former. It corresponds

to the script illustrated in the photographic plate of Gilgit Mss. vol. III, part 2. The second is definitely in an older script, the Gupta Script, illustrated in photographic plates as given in Gilgit Manuscripts, vol. I, (except the first plate).

The collection in the Gupta Script contains two different fragments. The sheets marked A and B form one continuous passage which I have read and identified with a passage that we find in the printed edition of the *Saddharma-Puṇḍarīka-Sūtra* (edited by Kern and Nanjio and published in the Bibliotheca Buddhica Series), p. 417, l 1-418, l-4. The other smaller piece (marked R and S), only a fragment and also written in Gupta Script, I could not yet identify. But from the frequent mention of the various Pāramitās in the passage, throughout, it seems probable that it is a Pāramitā Text. This fragment also bears in the left-hand in the margin a few letters written vertically, which, perhaps, give the name and page-number of the text. The letters are indistinct and I have not yet been able to read them.

The other group marked (a, b), (c, d) also contains two different passages, one (a, b) of which is very interesting as it reveals to be a fragment of the *Śrāmaṇya-phala Sūtra*, perhaps incorporated in the Vinaya of the Mūlasarvāstivādins. Rockhill's Life of the Buddha (pp. 95-106) also gives the summary of this Sūtra as it occurs in the Dulva, the Tibetan Vinaya. The other passage (c, d) also I have identified and I find that it corresponds to the intervening lines of the passages in the *Bhaiṣajya-vastu*, printed on pp. 241, l. 1-243, l. 19 of Gilgit Manuscripts vol. iii, part 1, edited by Dr. Nalinaksh Dutt and published by the Calcutta Oriental Press under the patronage of His Highness the Maharajah of Kashmir. The Editor, on p. 240 of this volume, indicates that some leaves in his collection are missing and that his note on page 241 says he has supplied the passage from a similar text in the Divyāvadāna pp. 123 ff. Apparently the missing leaves in the Collection of Dr. N. Dutt are found here in fragments.

Unfortunately, these passages are all fragmentary as it appears that the leaves of the *Śrāmaṇya-phala Sūtra* (a and b) are only the left side fragments of the whole leaves while the other passage (c and d) is still more fragmentary as the fragment appears to be only the middle portion, the portions both on the left and the right sides of the leaves being missing. That is why,

in the bits of the passage that are available in these fragments of manuscripts, we can trace only a few intervening lines of the pages, mentioned above, of Gilgit Manuscripts, vol. iii, part 1.. In the left-hand margin of the leaf, I marked as (a), there are some four marks, letters or figures or partly both, which I have been unable to interpret.

That the fragments (a) and (b) are definitely from a Sanskrit version of the Pali *Sāmañña-phala Sutta* of the Dīgha-nikāya vol. I, Sutta No. 2, there is no doubt, as in the fragmentary passage, we come across the expression *Sāndrṣṭikam Śrāmaṇya-phalaṃ* twice (a, 17; b, 14) and as there are several words, expressions and similes corresponding to those in the Pali Text as published by the Pali Text Society, vol. I, pages 72-76, paragraphs 71-81. This whole sutta may probably have been included as Dr. Nalinaksha Dutt suggested to me in the Vinaya of the Mūla-Sarvāstivādins. Rockhill in his Life of the Buddha gives (pp. 95-106), as said above a detailed account of this sūtra as it occurs in Dulva, Tibetan Vinaya.

This Sanskrit *Śrāmaṇya-phala Sūtra* is coming to light for the first time and hence the importance of these fragments. The *Śrāmaṇya-phala Sūtra* incorporates the dialogue on the visible benefits of the holy life of a mendicant, between Gautama Buddha and King Ajātaśatru, the King of Magadha, who assumed the throne after having murdered his father King Bimbisāra. This Sūtra was considered to be very important by the Buddhists. Besides the Pali and Tibetan versions referred to above, there are as many as three versions in Chinese¹ translated at different times:—

(i) The first translated by Than-wu-lan (Dharma-rakṣa or Dharmārāma) of the Eastern Tshin Dynasty, A. D. 317-420, one fascicule; Nanjio No. 593.

(ii) The Second is translated by Dharmanandin (A. D. 384-385) of the former Tshin Dynasty (A. D. 350-394) and included in the Chinese Translation of Ekottarāgama (39-7), Nanjio No. 543.

(iii) The Third translated by Buddhayaśas together with Chu-fo-nien (A. D. 412-13) of the later Tshin Dynasty. (A. D. 384-417); Nanjio No. 545. This Sūtra is included in the Chinese version (as Sūtra No. 27) of the Dirghāgama.

¹ For the contents of these Chinese versions, see my paper in Indian Culture, XV, Nos. 1-4 (1948-49, Barua Commemoration Vol.) pp. 107-113.

All the three Chinese versions roughly agree with one another as far as the main story is considered — the story of the dialogue between King Ajātasatru and the Buddha. But in the details of the philosophical views advocated by the six famous heretic teachers, they differ widely.

A study of these different versions will form a different paper altogether and if the whole of the Sanskrit collection can be recovered or purchased from the gentleman who has it in his possession and who is asking a very fancy-price, it would really be a boon to scholars of Buddhism.

A further examination of the collection of the original manuscripts may reveal, I strongly suspect, that this collection forms a part of the same collection from which Sir Aurel Stein, Prof. Levi, Prof. Heras of St. Xavier's College, Bombay and Dr. Nalinaksh Dutt have secured portions of the Text. In this connection Dr. Nalinaksh Dutt's note on Gilgit Manuscripts of the Vinaya-piṭaka in Indian Historical Quarterly, vol. XIV. (1938), pp. 409-11 may be read with interest.

I am giving herewith photographic reproduction of those fragments, a and b in plate I, c and d in plate II, A and B in plate III and R and S in plate IV. I am also appending my readings of those fragments. Where the letters are not properly deciphered, I have put the question marks.

If we compare this Sanskrit passage in plate I (a) and (b) with the Pali *Sāmaññaphala Sutta* in D, i—pp. 72-76, paragraphs 71-81, (PTS. edition), we find the following parallels :—

	SANSKRIT	PALI
(a) L-2.	<i>Adāsa(h) syāt ... bhujisyo yena k</i>	<i>Dāsavyā mutto ... bhujisso yena kāmamgamo</i> (Para. 72)
„ L-3	<i>Bahugāḍhabandhana- baddhaḥ</i>	<i>bandhanāgāre baddho</i> („ 71)
„ L-4	<i>Puruṣo bhayāt kṣemam gacchet</i>	<i>anupāpuneyya khemam appaṭibhayam</i> („ 73)
„ L-6	<i>(sa-) vitarkam sa-vi- cāram vivekajam prītisukham prathamam dhyānam upasam (pa- dya)</i>	<i>sa-vitakkam sa-vicāram viveka- jam pītisukham paṭhamajjhānam upasaṃpajja</i> („ 75)

SANSKRIT

PALI

„ L-7	<i>vivekajena prītisukhena</i>	<i>vivekajena pītisukhena</i> („ 75, 76)
„ L-9	<i>sāndrṣṭikam śrāmaṇya-phalam</i>	<i>sandiṭṭhikam sūmaññaphalam</i> („ 76)
„ L-10	<i>Samādhijena prī</i>	<i>samādhijena pītisukhena</i> („ 77)
(b) L-1	<i>Udakahradaḥ tasya ca pūrvasyām diśata</i>	<i>udaḥa-rahado-tassa neta-ssa puratthimāya diśāya</i> („ 78)
„ L-2	<i>Tadudaka-hradam śītā</i>	<i>udakarhadam sitena vārinā</i> („ 78)
„ L-3	<i>(syandaya)ti pariṣyan-dayati pariprīṇāti pari</i>	<i>abhisandeti parisandeti paripūreti parippharati</i> („ 78)
„ L-4	<i>Sāndrṣṭikam Śrāmaṇya-phalam sa prīter virūgād upekṣako</i>	<i>Sandiṭṭhikam Sāmañña-phalam ... pītiyā ca virūgā upekkhako</i> („ 78)
„ L 5	<i>Sukhenābhiṣyandayati ... pari</i>	<i>Sukhena abhisandeti parisandeti paripūreti parippharati</i> („ 79)
„ L 6	<i>udake nimagna-kośāni ... yāvacca mūlam</i>	<i>udakā anuggatāni anto-nimuggaposīni ... yāva ca aggā yāva ca mūlā</i> („ 80)
„ L 7	<i>kāyād asphuṭam bhavaty a-spharaṇīyam yaduta niṣprītikena sukhe(na)</i>	<i>nāssa kāñci sabbūrato kāyassa nippitikena sukhena apphuṭam hoi</i> („ 80)
„ L 8	<i>Prahāṇāt pūrvameva ca ... upekṣā-smṛti</i>	<i>pahānā pubbeva somanassa-domanassūnam atthagamā adukkham asukham upekkhā-sati-pārisuddhim</i> („ 81)

Thus we are left in no doubt about the identity of the passage though we do not find anything in Pali parallel to the 9th line in (b) above.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33
---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----

[illegible]

२ स्यः भुजिष्णो कागमः सो प रे ण स म ये न अ दा सः स्या त अ प्रे ष्यो भु जि ष्यो ये न न क (का)

共

* ३ ष्टे व सु ख म धि ग ष्टे सौ म न स्यं त व था पु रु षः प श्चा त्(?) ब हु गा ढ ब न्ध न च कुः स्य (स्यात्)

* 4 छेत्तुखमधिगच्छत्ता म न स्यं त व था पु रु षो भ य या त्से मं ग

* ५ स्पं यथा दुर्भिक्षं यथा भयमेव मात्मनः प्रहीणा निमसमन

6 वि त क स वि च्वा रं वि वे क जं प्री ति सु खं प्र थ मं ध्या न सु प सं

7. कुरुते विवेकं न प्रीतिं हरे न तद्यथादक्षः सुपको वा सुप

४ प्र ति शा ति नी नो नु(?) प्र र्का रि णी ए व मे व स ड म ए

१ यामया दज्ञितं सांद्र(दु)ष्टिकं आसण्य फलं ।

10 स इस वका . व वि समाधि ले न प्री

* I am unable to interpret these letters which perhaps give the name and page-number of the text.

† Apparently a mistake for येनकमंगः.

§ We should except s:

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32

- 1 द क हू दः तस्य च पू र्व स्यां दि श त
?
- 2 ब(?) हू त्य स र्व त दु द क हू दं शी ता
य ?
- 3 (ष्य न्द य)ति प रि ष्य न्द य ति प रि प्री णा ति प रि
- 4 द र्शितं सा न्द्र¹ छि कं आ म ण्य फ लं स प्री ते विं रा गा दु पे क्ष को
- 5 सु खे ना भि ष्य न्द य ति प रि ष्य न्द य ति प रि प्री णा ति प रि
- 6 खान्यु द के नि म ग्र को शा नि ति छ ति ते षां या व च्छ सू लं या
- 7 का या द स्फु टं भ व त्य स्फ र णी यं य दु त नि ष्पी ति के न सु खे न
- 8 प्र हा णा त्पू र्व मे व च सौ म न स्य दौ र म न स्य यो र स्त ग मा द दुः खा सु ख मु पे क्षा स्पृ ति
- 9 वा तै ल प्र यो तो ध्या ये त स्य त द र्चि र्वा यु ना ? ? ? वा म नु ष्य के ण वा अ नो रि तं
- 10 ते ? ? ? न च सौ म न स्य यो र स्त ग मा द दुः खा सु ख मु पे क्षा स्पृ ति प रि शु चं

1 ? न्द्र.

§ धर्वाणि ? or यर्वाणि ? or घर्वाणि ?

* Not deciphered.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32

I

रुद्र आ व स्या*

2 ता स तः त त्स म न न्त ँ च मि ण्ह ? ?
 3 ध ने न पा लि त इ ति ध न पा ल फो ध न पा ल
 4 ख र्मा नि प रि शु क्ता नि दा नि वि? दा? यु भ्म तो शा रि
 सि? मा?

5 क्ष वो भ ग व त आ रो च य न्ति भ ग वा ना ह दु र्ल भा नि
 6 क रे न ग रे ष ङ्ग ज ना म हा उ ण्याः प्र ति व स न्ति मि ण्ह को¹
 7 ना दे व पू र्यन्ते ए वं मि ण्ह को शु ह प ति र्जा² तो म हा पु ण्य(:)
 8 त्यज ति त दा पू र्ण ए व ति ष³ ति न स⁴ प रि क्षी य ते
 9 ए वं⁴ मि ण्ह क दा सः क थं मि ण्ह क दा सी म हा पु ण्या सा
 10 मा रो च यं त था ग तो वः⁵ ज न प द चा रि का या च
 II

* This passage is identified with intervening lines of pp. 241-43, of Gilgit Mss. Vol. III, Part i. Lines from this text are referred to in the notes that follow.

¹ p. 241 l. 2 reads मेण्हको.

² l. 5 र्जतो.

⁴ ll. 12-13.

⁵ l. 242 l. 2 भिक्षुः

³ l. 9 omits तिष्ठ—an obvious mistake-and स.
 § Not deciphered.

[illegible]

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32

- 1 (भ) ग^१ वा ना पु ष्म तो ज न प द चा रि का य भ द्र क (र)
- 2 रि^२ वा रः शा न्त शान्त प रि वा रः अ हं क्ष हं प रि वा रः यो (द्रं)
- 3 तं मा ग च्छ ती ति श्रु त्वा च पु न ह्यं प्रि तांः पू र्बं ता व द्र यं
- 4 ध^४ र्म ला भो ध र्म ला भः आ र्य कि मि दं अ व लो कि ता भ व त
- 5 ति का नि^५ कु र्वं न्ना ग च्छ ति आ र्य य शे वं य स्मि न्ने व का लै स्था
- 6 रं^६ न ग र सा म न्त के न स र्वो ज न का य सु द्वा स्य भ द्रं क रं न ग
- 7 (द्रं) क^७ र सा म न्त के न स र्वो ज न का य उ द्वा स्य भ द्रं क रं न ग रं
- 8 वे^८ (क्षे) ये न न ना स भ ग व ता तु क ह्वा सं ख्ये ये र ने के (ः)
- 9 प^९ धे य मि ति ते न वा त व ला ह का नां दे
- 10 न ग रं स म न्ता दा सा .

¹ Gilgit Mss. Vol. III, part i. p. 242.

⁵ p. 243 ll. 3-4, read श्र.

⁸ 243 l. 15 reads उपेक्ष्यं येन नाम भगवता त्रिभिः कल्पैरसंख्यैरनैः

² p. 242. ll. 11-12.

⁷ 243 ll. 11-12.

³ ll. 15-16.

⁴ 243 l. 19.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32

1

*राजधा र विष्यत्ति॥¹ तद्यथा हि ना म न क्ष

2 (ब) राजसं कुसु मिताभिज्ञा स र्व आ व क प्र त्ये क बु द्धानां बो धि स त्यो ग्र मा ख्याय

3 ते ए व म व न क्ष व रा ज सं कु सु मि ता भि ज्ञा यं स ख र्म पु ण्ड रि को ध र्म प र्यो

4 य स र्वे बां त था ग त भा वि ता नां स त्रा स्ता नां अ ग्र्य मा ख्याय ते॥ त द्य था पि ना
(यः)

5 म न क्ष व रा जे सं कु सु मि ता भि ज्ञा त था ग तो ध र्म रा ज प ट्ट व द्दः ए

6 व मे व न क्ष व रा ज सं कु सु मि ता भि ज्ञा यं स ख र्म पु ण्ड रि को ध र्म प र्यो व

7 स्त था ग त भू तो बो धि स त्व या न सं प्र स्थि ता नां त्रा ता ख ल्व पि न क्ष व रा ज सं

8 कु सु मि ता भि ज्ञा यं स ख र्म पु ण्ड रि को ध र्म प र्यो यः स र्व स त्वा नां स र्व भ ग्ने

9 भ्यो मो च कः स र्व दुःखे भ्यः॥¹ त ङा ग इ व तु पि ता नां अग्नि रि व क्षी ता र्त्तानां ज्ञे

10 ल मि व न ज्ञानां सार्थ वा ह इ व व णि जानां मा ते व पु त्रा णां नौ रि (व)

* P. 417, l. 1-418, l. 4 of the printed text of the सद्गुण्टीक (K. text referred to in foot-notes) edited by Kern and Nanjio in the Bibliotheca Buddhica vol. X.

¹ Note these marks of punctuation (॥, ') on this page as well as on the following 8 pages.

PLATE III (Λ)

PLATE III (B)

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32

1 पा र गा मि नी • वै श ड व आ तु रा णां • दी प इ व त मो न्ध का रा वृ ता नां • र त्म मि व (धनार्थि)

2 कानां च क्र व ती व स र्व को टु रा जानां स सु द्र इ व स रि ता नां • उ ले के व स र्व त मो न्ध

3 का र वि ध म न त यां ए व मे व न क्ष त्र रा ज सं कु सु मि ता भि ज्ञा यं स ऋ र्म पु ण्ड री

* 4 को ध र्म प र्या य स र्व द्दुः ख प्र मो च कः स र्व द्या धि च्छे द कः स र्व सं सा र ब न्ध न सं क ट

* 5 प्र मो च कः ये न च्चा यं न क्ष त्र रा ज सं कु सु मि ता भि ज्ञा स ऋ र्म पु ण्ड री को ध र्म प र्या यः

* 6 शु तो भ वि ण्ण ति य श्र लि ख ति य श्र ले ख य ति ए सां न क्ष त्र रा जा सं कु सु मि
षां

7 ता भि ज्ञ पु ण्या भि सं स्का रा णां बौ द्धे न ज्ञा ने न श क्यं प र्य स्तो धि ग न्ते • या व न्ते पु ण्या

8 भि तं स्का रं स कु ल पु त्रो वा कु ल दु हि ता बा प्र स वि ण्ण ति य ड मं ध र्म प र्या यं

9 (दे) श यि त्वा वा शु त्वा बालि खि त्वा वा पु स्त क ग तं वा कृ त्वा स त्क र्या हु रु कु र्या न्मा न

10 (ये स पु ज) ये त स धू प ग न्ध मा ल्य वि ले प न चूर् ण ची व र च्छ त्र ध्व ज प ता का वा

* Two or three vertical letters which are not yet deciphered.

12 [Anna's, B. O. R. I.]

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18

1 त्व नां 'एतं व रं भ ग वं बो धि

2 व त्स र्वा का र ज्ञ ता यं व स्था स्य (ति)
र?

3 प क्ष्यति* य द्वा भि नि वि शि त वा

4 र न्ये वं भा व य न्ति स प्र ज्ञा पा र

* 5 ? ? ' भ व ति स ध्या न पा र मि ता य

* 6 प्र ज्ञा पा र मि ता ? ? ? भि नि वि श

* 7 र मि ता म मि ता न सं ज्ञा ना ति* ध्या तो बो

8 कृ ति* या व त्स र्वा का र ज्ञ ता प रि गृ ?

9 इ मा प्र ज्ञा पा र मि ता यं स्थितो ध्या त्वा

10 भ व ति* इ मा प्र ज्ञा पा र मि ता यं स्थि त्वा

11 पा र मि ता ध्या ति न ज्ञ क्ष्य न्दा न पा र मि ता म भि

12 इ ति बू तो बो धि स त्वो म हा स त्वः प्र ज्ञा पा

13 क्ष र्म म भि भो त्य ते ने दं स्था नं वि द्य ते अ

14 वा ? ? ? बो धि स त्वो म हा स त्वः प्र ज्ञा पा

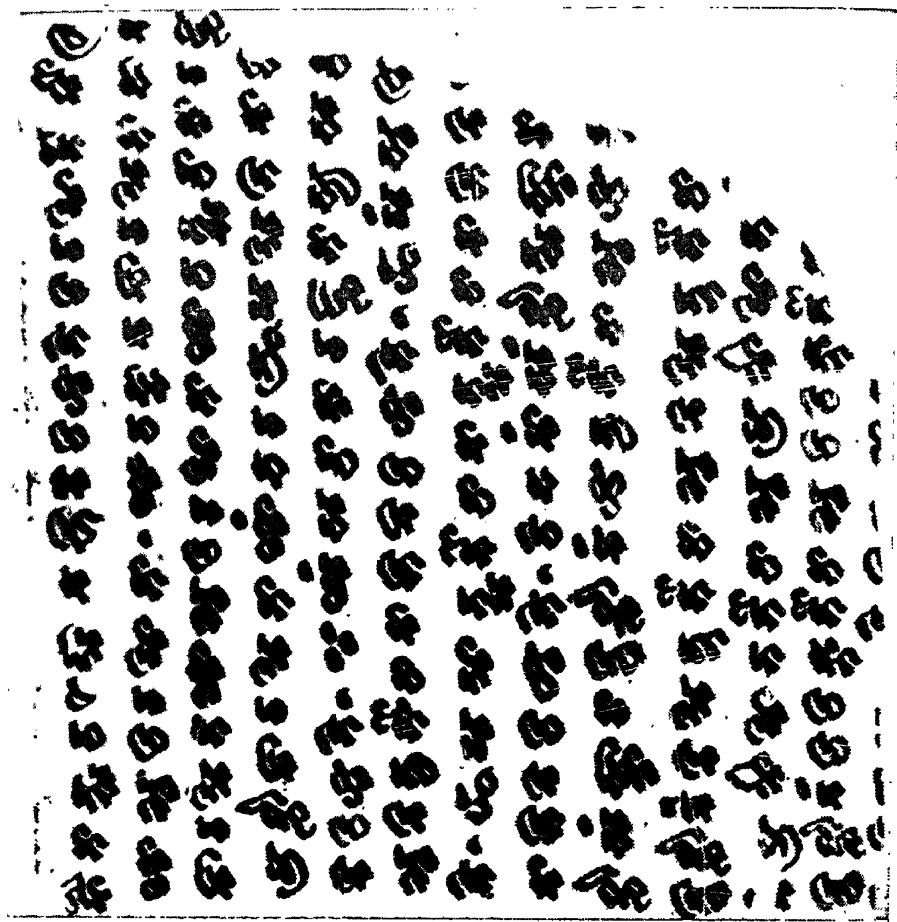
* These are letters vertically written which I could not yet decipher.

* Not deciphered.

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To face page 252

PLATE IV (S)



1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18
 1 ? तात्सर्वधर्मानभिनिविशते विरहितो बोधि
 2 या अविरहितां वा वदानपा र मिता न्दान
 3 पार मिताया अद्विरहिता या वत्सर्वाकारज्ञ
 4 प्रज्ञापार मितायांच ? रूपमिति ना ?
 5 निविशते इयं सर्वाकारज्ञता स सर्व?
 6 अनित्यतो वा नाभिनिविशते रूपं सुख
 7 ते रूपमात्मतो वा नात्मतो वा नाभिनि
 8 नाभिनिविशते वेदानां संज्ञा त्संस्कारा
 9 ज्ञा संस्कारादिज्ञानं शक्यं? तो वा अश

त्य

10 दिज्ञानं निमित्ततो वा अनिमित्ततो वा
 11 नं? प्रणिहिततो वा अप्रणिहित
 12 विज्ञानं विविक्ततो वा अविविक्ततो*

* I hereby gladly acknowledge my debt to Prof. L. Pradhan
 (my erst-while colleague in Shantiniketan) who helped me
 in de-ciphering these fragments.

JAIMINI—SABARA AND THE SCIENCE OF GRAMMAR†

BY

D. V. GARGE

Jaimini, the author of the Pūrva-Mīmāṃsā-Sūtras reserves one special *adhikaraṇa* wherein he establishes the authority (*prāmāṇya*) of the Science of Grammar for the correct interpretation of Vedic passages and consequently treats grammatical treatises equal to Smṛti works that have a direct bearing on Dharma.¹ Śabara, the Bhāṣyakāra of J. S., every now and then seeks help from Grammar, and in doing so displays his sound knowledge of phonetics as well as of the Pāṇiniyan school of grammar. A study of the relevant references to and quotations from grammatical works found in J. S. and the Śabara-Bhāṣya thereon throws much light on the indebtedness of Pūrva-Mīmāṃsā to Grammar.

JAIMINI-SŪTRAS AND PAṆINI-SŪTRAS :

In the whole extent of the J. S. there is only one *adhikaraṇa*—a set of five Sūtras (J. S. 12.3. 20-24) which has got a parallel in Pāṇini Sūtra (1.2. 34, 36.)

Jaimini: (i) During the sacrificial performance, Mantras should be recited with the ordinary textual accent and not the *Bhāṣika* (i. e. *Brāhmaṇa* —) mode of recitation (12.3. 20-22).

(ii) Those Mantras, however, which are not found in the Mantra-section but are found laid down in the *Brāhmaṇa*-section should be used with the *Bhāṣika* (i. e. *Brāhmaṇa*) accent, (12.3. 23-24).

Pāṇini: (i) During the sacrificial performance, the Mantras except the *Japa* Mantras, *Nyūṅkha* and *Sāmans*, should be recited in '*ekaśruti* (mono—) tone (P. S. 1.2.34).

(ii) The recital of Vedic Mantras (outside a sacrificial performance) should be with or without accents (P. S. 1.2. 3-6).

† Adapted from the writer's Thesis for Ph. D.

¹ J. S. 13.24-29. For a critical survey of the Śabara's bhāṣya and Kumārila's vārtika on this point, see the writer's article 'An Ancient Attack on Grammar'. (Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute, Vol. II, pp. 351-360).

Kātyāyana in his *Vārtika* mentions different views on this point : (a) Threefold accent at a sacrificial performance, (b) *Bhāṣika* accent. (c) ' *ekaśruti* ' mode of recitation. Kātyāyana Śrautasūtra (1.8. 16-19) discards the first two and accepts the third, thus agreeing with Pāṇini.

Pāṇini's rule can be historically interpreted thus : In Brāhmaṇa and later times, the accents of words changed, as changes slowly take place in every spoken language, even in grammar. This difference in accents in Vedic hymns and the spoken language (of the Brāhmaṇas and later works) became troublesome. As its consequence, gradually the Samhitās and Brāhmaṇas began to be recited without accents at sacrifices and Pāṇini had to sanction this process optionally by his sūtra 1.2. 36.¹

From J.S. 12.3. 20-24 however, it appears that Jaimini not minding his difference with Pāṇini, made a vigorous attempt to restore the old practice of reciting Vedic Mantras with their threefold accents—whether for study or for ritual purposes.

ŚABARA AND PĀṆINI-SŪTRA

Śabara in his *Bhāṣya* discusses or refers to *en passant* many a question from grammar with or without a mention or reference to Pāṇini or his successors. It is quite in the fitness of things that a writer dealing with the science of 'interpretation of sentences' (*vākyabodha*) should every now and then seek help from the 'science of words' (*Śābdabodha*) i. e. grammar.

The references to grammar in the *Bhāṣya* can be conveniently divided into the following groups : (1) Passages referring to Śikṣā (2) References to by name or otherwise and quotations from Pāṇini and Kātyāyana, (3) Quotations from the Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali.

(1) PASSAGES REFERRING TO ŚIKṢĀ :

Śabara appears to be referring to the extent Pāṇiniya Śikṣā when he says² that the Śikṣākāras lay down that the "wind" is transformed into 'word'. The passage, 'वायुरापद्यते शब्दताम्' sounds like a quarter of a stanza and may have been quoted from some

¹ C. V. Vaidya, *Hist. of Sk. Literature, op. cit.*, III. 132.

² Vide J. S. 1.3.24-29 and Śabara thereon. Also Śabara on 9.2.31 (3rd interpretation).

Śikṣā-work (cf. Nārada-Śikṣā 1.5.8.10). Then again, we find another passage at J. S. 1. 3-25: वायुर्नभिरुत्थितः, उरसि विस्तीर्णः, कण्ठे विवर्तितः, मूर्धनिमाहृत्य परावृत्तः, वक्त्रे विचरन् विविधान् शब्दानाभिव्यनक्ति । It is a close paraphrase of verses 7 and 9 of Pāṇini Śikṣā. It is not unlikely that this passage is based on Nāradiya Śikṣā verses 1.5.8-10 which mention the origin of various musical notes in the human body and explain the process of a word-pronunciation. Then again, he quotes the well-known verse occurring in Śikṣā works, about the recital of a mantra in a faulty manner.

मन्त्रो हीनः स्वरतो वर्णतो वा मिथ्या प्रयुक्तो न तमर्थमाह ।

न वाग्वज्रो भूत्वा यजमानं हिनस्ति यथेन्द्रशत्रुः स्वरतोऽपराधात् ॥

—Śabara on J. S. 9.4.21.

Trans.— If a Mantra is defective, either in accent or in syllable, it is wrongly uttered and (hence) does not express the intended meaning. It becomes a verbal thunderbolt and strikes the sacrificer as happened in the case of the word 'Indra-Śatru', through wrong accentuation.

Śabara cites this verse in support of his conclusion that at the Aśvamedha which is an Ectype, (*vikṛti*) the Mantra that is borrowed from the Archetype (*prakṛti yāga*) should be modified so as to suit the new context, otherwise the Mantra would be defective in meaning and lead to evil consequences.

This verse is found in Pāṇini Śikṣā (V. 52). Nāradiya Śikṣā (V. 5) and Mādhyandina Śikṣā (V. 1) Pātañjali in his Mahābhāṣya also reads this verse with the variation 'duṣṭaḥ śabdaḥ' for 'mantro hīnaḥ' (perhaps to suit his new context!).

It is clear that Śabara quotes this verse from some Śikṣā. We cannot definitely say that it is from Pāṇini Śikṣā because this Śikṣā bears on the face of it a stamp of modernness, and secondly because the verse occurs also in other Śikṣā works.¹ We may, therefore, postulate that the original treatise on phonetics from which Śabara quotes it was a fairly old work and was the common source for both Pātañjali as well as Śabara. The antiquity of this verse is also established by the fact that the incident referred to in it is as old as the Brāhmaṇas.

¹ Belvalkar, systems of Sk. Grammar, p. 27.

(2) REFERENCES TO OR QUOTATIONS FROM PĀṆINI
AND KĀTYĀYANA:

Pāṇini — Śābara mentions Pāṇini with great reverence and styles him 'Bhagavān' in four places, under J. S. 6.1. 22, 23; 10.6.5 and 10.8.4. There is one passage which appears to have been quoted from Pāṇin's Dhātupāṭha. जप्यत इति जपः। जप व्यक्तायां वाचि (under J. S. 12.4.1). The number of Pāṇini-Sūtras quoted, discussed or referred to by Śābara, is twenty one:

(a) P. S. that is quoted	under J. S.
1.1.1.	1.1.5
1.1.73	1.1.5
1.4.50	4.2.17
3.1.130	5.3.5
4.2.24	5.4.19
(b) P. S. that are referred to	under J. S.
1.4.34	9.2.32
1.3.25	7.3.36
1.4.32	4.2.18
2.3.13	4.2.18
3.2.45	10.3.45
3 4 4	p. 676 Bib. Ind. ed.
5.1.123	2. 3. 3
(c) P. S. that are discussed	under J. S.
1.2.67	6.1. 22, 23
1.4.21	3.4.13; 10.1.38
1.4.22	3.4.13
1.4.49	2.1.10, 12; 10.1.12, 14
2.3.2	2.1.12
2.3.19	6.4.43
3.1.68	3.4.13
3.4.69	3.4.13
5.1.123	2.3.3

Besides Śābara uses a number of Pāṇini's grammatical terms. The following are some of them: 'Karmapravacanīya—prati' (on J. S. 10-6.3), 'Dvandvagarbhabahuvrīhi' 'Anekapadabahuvrīhi' (on J. S. 10.6.4).

Kātyāyana: Śābara not only looked upon Pāṇini with reverence, but also on Kātyāyana who also is styled Bhagavān

by him. Śābara says¹: 'Kātyāyana laid down that the compound of the particle 'na' with a 'subanta' was 'nitya,' while Pāṇini laid down that it was optional. Under these circumstances Pāṇini's rule must be followed and not Kātyāyana's as the former lays down what is correct.'

At another place, Śābara speaks of the rule that 'asti' may be understood in a sentence though not actually employed: 'Astir bhavantīparaḥ' (on J. S. 11.2.2; *Vārtika* 11 on PS. 2.3.1).

'Naṣṭāśva-dagdhathavath samprayogaḥ' (*Vārtika* 16 on PS. 1.1.50) quoted on J. S. 2.1.1 and 'Pratyavayavam ca vākyaparisamāpteh' (V. 12 on PS. 1.1.1) quoted on J. S. 3.1.12 and 10.6.8.

(3) QUOTATIONS FROM THE MAHĀBHĀṢYA OF PATAÑJALI:

We now pass on to the passages that are quoted or adapted from the Mahābhāṣya by Śābara to illustrate or prove the point under consideration. It will be seen that very few of them have been introduced with words that indicate that they are direct quotations from some older work; most of them have been so inserted in the body of the Bhāṣya that it is very hard to detect them as citations or adaptations. It is to be noted that Śābara nowhere mentions the name of Patañjali, the author of these quotations though the words 'ācārya' (on J. S. 3.4.13) and 'abhiyukta' (on J. S. 6.7.33) are references to him. Not in all these places Śābara accepts Patañjali's views.

Śābara

Patañjali

(1) (a) (आह —) 'प्रकृतिप्रत्ययौ प्रत्ययार्थे सह ब्रूत' इत्याचार्योपदेशात् कर्ता शब्दार्थः कर्म चेत्यवगम्यते। उच्यते। नाचार्यवचनात् सूत्रकारवचनाद्वा शब्दार्थो भवति।

(on जै. सू. 3.4.13)

(b) कर्ता प्रधानभूत उपसर्जनीभूता क्रिया। प्रकृतिप्रत्ययौ प्रत्ययार्थे सह ब्रूतः।

(on जै. सू. 11.1.22)

(c) यत्तु 'प्रकृतिप्रत्ययौ...ब्रूत' इति तत्कर्मनिमित्तेषु नामपदेषु।

(on जै. सू. 11.1.24)

(1) इदमस्य यथेव स्वाभाविकमथापि वाचनिकम्, प्रकृतिप्रत्ययार्थे सह ब्रूत इति नास्ति संभवो यदेकस्याः प्रकृतेर्द्वयोर्नानार्थयोर्युगपदनुसहायिभावः स्यात्।

(on पा. सू. 3.1.67. वा. 2)

¹ On J. S. 10.8.4.

In all these three places in Śābarabhāṣya the passage is put in the mouth of the Pūrvapakṣin who maintains that the subject word is the principal factor in a sentence. The Siddhāntin (a Mīmāṃsaka) however, rejects this view and finally establishes that in a sentence neither the agent (subject), nor the action is the predominant factor; the predominant factor in all sentences is the "Being" (i. e. coming into existence, Bhāvanā) which is a part of the verb itself. The statement in the above passage is true only so far as nouns are concerned.

Only in the first place in the Śābarabhāṣya, the passage is followed by the word 'ācāryopadeśa' thus indicating that it is a quotation. In the other two places, it reads in such a way that it is hard to detect it as a quotation. The word 'ācārya' coming into immediate juxtaposition with the word 'sūtrakāra' (which refers to Pāṇini) refers to Patañjali, an ācārya par excellence.

- (2) शतान्यायुरस्येति विशदीष्यामः । नैवम् । (2) द्विवचनबहुवचनान्तानाम-
संख्याशब्दानां समास इष्यते । न च गम- समासः किं वक्तव्यमेतत् । न हि ।
कानि भवन्ति 'द्विवचनबहुवचनान्ता- कथमनुच्यमानं गंस्यते ।
नामसमास' इति चाभियुक्तवचनात् । (on पा. सू. 6.3.1. वा. 3)
(on जै. सू. 6.7.33)

Śābara says, the word 'Śatāyu' cannot be expounded as 'one whose span of life extends over hundreds (instead of hundred) of years', because numerals are not compounded in this fashion, nor are they expressive even when formed. The 'learned'— 'abhiyukta'— people have also declared that 'there can be no compounding of words with the dual or plural ending'. The word 'abhiyukta' here obviously refers to Patañjali.

- (3) (a) (पूर्वपक्षः)—प्रत्येकं वाक्य- (3) प्रत्येकं वाक्यसमाप्ति-
परिसमाप्तिर्दृष्टेति । यथा देवदत्त- र्दृश्यते । तद्यथा देवदत्त-यज्ञदत्त-
यज्ञदत्त-विष्णुमित्रा, भोज्यन्ता- विष्णुमित्रा भोज्यन्तामिति । ननु
मिति प्रत्येकं भुजिः समाप्यते । चायमप्यस्ति दृष्टान्तः समुदाये
(सिद्धान्तः)—न च प्रधानं प्रतिगुणं वाक्यपरिसमाप्तिरिति । तद्यथा
भिद्यते, प्रतिप्रधानं हि गुणो भिद्यते इति । गर्गाः शतं दण्ड्यन्तामिति ।
अस्ति चायं दृष्टान्तः । समुदाये (on पा. सू. 1.1.1. वा. 12)
वाक्यसमाप्तिरिति । यथा गर्गाः Also see on पा. सू. 1.1.7 ; 2.
शतं दण्ड्यन्तामिति । 1.4 ; 6.1.5 ; 8.3.58 ; 8.4.2 ;
(जै. सू. 3.1.12) 2.3.46.

- (b) प्रत्येकं वाक्यपरिसमाप्तिः स्यात् ।
(on जै. सू. 10.6.8).

In the injunctive passage 'अरुणया विगाक्ष्या एकहायन्या सोमं क्रीणाति', the qualities अरुण, विगाक्ष, and एकहायन collectively and not severally, qualify the 'cow'. Śabara substantiates his argument by quoting the instance from Mahābhāṣya: गर्गाः etc., which means: 'Members of the Garga family, all taken together — and not severally, are fined one hundred.' The passage contains two well known Paribhāṣās: प्रत्येकं etc., and समुदाये etc. The first one, as already noted above, is embodied in Kātyāyana's vārtika. It is to be noted that the second Paribhāṣā has been cited by Śabara along with the introductory remark in the Mahābhāṣya: 'अस्ति चायं दृष्टान्तः'.

(4) अन्यार्थमपि कुतमन्यार्थमपि शन्नोति कर्तुम् । तद्यथा, शाल्यर्थं कुल्याः प्रणीयन्ते ताभ्यश्च पानीयं पीयत उपस्पृश्यते च । एवमिहापि क्रयसंबंधार्थमेकहायनीशब्द उच्चार्य-माणोऽरुणाशब्देन सह संभन्स्यते ।

(on जै. सू. 3.1.12).

(4) यत्तावदुच्यते—नान्यार्थं प्रकृतमन्यार्थं भवतीति । अन्यार्थमपि प्रकृतमन्यार्थं भवति । तद्यथा—शाल्यर्थं कुल्याः प्रणीयन्ते ताभ्यश्च पानीयं पीयत उपस्पृश्यते च शाल्यश्च भाव्यन्ते ।

(on पा. सू. 1.1.23 वा. 4)
also on 1.3.12 ; 6.1.50)

From the striking similarity between the passages from two Bhāṣyas, apparently it would seem difficult to determine which of them is the borrower, since the passage contains a standard maxim applicable to both the contexts. On a closer scrutiny, however, we find that Patañjali discusses the point at a great length putting forth *dr̥ṣṭāntas* for and against the Siddhānta view. Śabara's passage, on the other hand, forms the middle most part of the long and homogeneous passage in the Mahābhāṣya. Śabara's brief reference to the general maxim as well as the words 'evam ihūpi' that follow it, sufficiently indicate that Śabara is the borrower.

(5) गौर्गावी गोणी गोपोतलितेत्येव-मादयः शब्दा उदाहरणम् ।

(on जै. सू. 1.3.24)

(5) एकैकस्य शब्दस्य बहवोऽपभ्रंशाः । तद्यथा—गौरित्यस्य शब्दस्य गावी गोणी गोता गोपोतलितेत्येवमादयोऽपभ्रंशाः । पस्पशम्

¹ I am indebted to Mm. P. V. Kane for this reference. Vide his article 'Patañjali and Śabara' in the Magazine Bhāratīya Vidyā Bhavana (March, 1945).

Śābara argues that the corrupt forms 'gāri' etc., cannot be treated as synonyms of the original Sanskrit word 'ga'. These corrupt forms are to be treated as non-expressive of the meaning and hence non-eternal, for the obvious reason that their utterance is mainly due to a slip in pronunciation of the correct Sanskrit form.

- (6) भवन्ति च द्विष्टानि वाक्यानि यथा श्वेतो धावति, अलम्बुतानां यातेति । (on जै. सू. 4.3.4)
- (6) तथा वाक्यन्यपि द्विष्टानि भवन्ति । श्वेतो धावति, अलम्बुतानां यातेति । (पस्पशम्)
- (7) यश्चोभयोः पक्षयोर्दोषो न तमेकश्चोद्यो भवति । (on जै. सू. 6.6. 20 cf. on जै. सू. 8.3.7.14)
- (7) यश्चोभयोर्दोषो न तमेकश्चोद्यो भवति (on पा. सू. 6.1.9 वा. 2)
- (8) लौकिकानि वचनानि उपपन्नार्थानि अनुपपन्नार्थानि च दृश्यन्ते । यथा, 'देवदत्त गामभ्याज' इत्येवमादीनि, 'दशदाडिमानि, षड्रूपा' इत्येवमादीनि च । (on जै. सू. 1.1.5 ; cf. on 4.3.10 ; 9.1.9)
- (8) लोके ह्यर्थवन्ति चानर्थकानि च वाक्यानि दृश्यन्ते । अर्थवन्ति तावत्—देवदत्त गामभ्याज शुक्रां दण्डेन, देवदत्त गामभ्याज कृष्णामिति । अनर्थकानि—दश दाडिमानि, षड्रूपा इति । (on पा. सू. 1.1.1. वा. 3)
- (9) तस्मात् मुख्यगौणयोर्मुख्ये कार्य-संप्रत्यय इति । (on जै. सू. 3.2.1 ; cf. on 3.3.14 ; 6.5.34)
- (9) एवं तर्हि, गौणमुख्ययोर्मुख्ये कार्य-संप्रत्यय इति । (on पा. सू. 1.1.15 वा. 2 ; 1.4.108 ; 6.3.46 ; 8.3.82)
- (10) सकृत्कृत्वा कृतार्थः शब्दो न नियमः पौनःपुन्य इति । (on जै. सू. 6.2.27 ; with slight changes in the reading on जै. सू. 6.2.29.30 ; 11.1.22.28 ; 11.1.35 ; and 12.3.10)
- (10) सकृदाधाय कृतः शास्त्रार्थ इति कृत्वा पुनः प्रवृत्तिर्न भवति । (on पा. सू. 6.1.84 वा. 4 ; also on 6.1.108 and 6.4.104 वा. 3)
- (11) वृद्धवयाः प्रत्युत्थेयः संमन्तव्यश्च । (on जै. सू. 6.2.30)
- (11) पूर्ववया ब्राह्मणः प्रत्युत्थेयः । (on पा. सू. 1.1.1)

Besides these parallel passages, there are some peculiar colloquial expressions and phrases like 'वक्तारो भवन्ति' or 'भवन्ति वक्तारः' and 'सापेक्षं असमर्थम्'² for which Śabara seems to be indebted to Patañjali.

These passages establish beyond doubt not only that Śabara knew Patañjali but that the former was greatly influenced by the diction and style of the latter. They further lead us to the conclusion that Śabara must have lived at a date when Patañjali had attained great fame both as a writer and an authority on Grammar, worthy to be reckoned only with Pāṇini—the Sūtrakāra. It will be reasonable, therefore, to allow at least two centuries between Patañjali and Śabara, thus placing Śabara after 100 A.D.

Prof. G. V. Devasthali, in his article 'On the probable date of Śabarasvāmin'³ puts forth certain data such as the relation of Śabara with Patañjali, which, in his opinion, 'requires us to push Śabara's date up about three or four centuries' and place him not later than 100 B. C.⁴ The fact that Śabara does not name either Patañjali or his Mahābhāṣya is probably responsible for the erroneous view that Śabara was earlier than Patañjali.⁵ But this *argumentum ex silentio* is thoroughly misleading (as it is in most cases) so far as the problem of Śabara's date is concerned,—especially because of Śabara's peculiar tendency towards the avoidance as far as possible of naming earlier authors. The above quotations are sufficient to finally decide that Śabara was later than Patañjali.

¹ Śabara on J. S. 3.1.2; 4.1.28; 1.4.10; 8.4.28 Patañjali Paspāśa p. 5; on PS. 1.2.64; 4.2.3.

² Śabara on 3.1.27; Patañjali on PS. 2.1.30, 56 etc.

³ Annals of B. O. R. I., XXIII, 84-97.

⁴ Op. cit. p. 95.

⁵ Op. cit. p. 93.

BHAGAVADGĪTĀ AND AṢṬĀDHYĀYI

BY

P. C. DIVANJI

I. Introductory remarks; II. References in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* to (a) the principal characters in the *Bhārata Samhitā*, (b) its author, his pupils and grandpupils and (c) the literature of the *Sūtra* period; III. *Bhagavadgītā* an essential part of that *Samhitā*; IV. Its structure not inconsistent with its being the work of a pre-Pāṇinian author; V. Concluding remarks.

I. *Introductory Remarks*

I had tried to establish in a previous paper¹ that the author of the *Bhārata Epic* and the *Bhagavadgītā* must be the same sage, Kṛṣṇa Dvaipayāna Vyāsa, who is reputed to be the compiler of the *Vedic Samhitās* and that he must have been living in an age falling between 1500 and 1100 B. C. I had however stated in the last paragraph of that paper that the said conclusion deserved to be supported so far as the *Bhagavadgītā* was concerned by a critical examination of the contents thereof from several points of view and a comparative study of the said work and the other standard works in Sanskrit on other subjects whose dates have been fixed with reasonable certainty. One of such works is the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* of Pāṇini, it being a standard work on Sanskrit Grammar and having been ascertained to have been composed between 700 and 500 B. C. It is therefore proposed to determine here the position of the *Bhagavadgītā* in the Sanskrit literature relatively to the said work by drawing the attention of scholars to several of the *Sūtras* therein indicating a thorough knowledge on the part of its author of the principal characters in the *Bhārata Epic*, of the history of the Kaurava family as narrated therein upto the time of Janāmejaya and of the literary output of the Brāhmaṇa

1 "Authorship and Date of the *Bhārata Epic* and the *Bhagavadgītā*", a paper read at the XIIIth Session of the A. I. O. Conference held at Nagpur in 1946 and published in the *Jha Research Society Journal*, Vol. IV, Part 2 (February 1947) at pp. 113 to 124.

sages who had been living upto the time of that descendant of Arjuna and then pointing out by a critical examination of the work from the standpoints of prosody, grammar, style, use of philosophical terms, metaphors etc., in the *Gītā* that it is an essential part of the *Bhārata Samhitā* and as such one of the few works of the post-Vedic and pre-Pāṇinian Smṛti literature which has been handed down to our generation in an undiluted form.

II. *References in the Aṣṭādhyāyī*

2. (a) *To the principal characters in the Great Epic.* — Sir Ramakrishna Bhandarkar had many years ago drawn the attention of the Oriental Scholars to a Sūtra in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*¹ with a view to establish that the worship of Vāsudeva as an incarnation of God Viṣṇu must have been current from a time prior to that of Pāṇini and that the *Bhagavadgītā* which specially recommends singular devotion to Him must originally have been the first canonical work of the Bhāgavatas, also known as the Vāsudevakas and Sātvatas². Another Indian Scholar Dr. P. S. S. Sastri of the Annamalai University seems to have examined the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* with a view to ascertain *inter alia* whether there is or is not a reasonable ground for believing that its author must have been aware of an Epic of the Kauravas. He has pointed out several Sūtras, besides the above, pointing to an answer to the said question in the affirmative. Thus besides Vāsudeva and Arjuna to whom the above-mentioned Sūtra refers, he has found the names of Bhīma and Bhīṣma, whose formation is taught in III. 4. 74³, Droṇa referred to in IV, 1, 103⁴. Ambā, Ambālā and Ambikā in VI. 1.118⁵, the Kurus and Andhaka-Vṛṣṇis in IV. 1.114⁶, Śālveya and Gāndhārī in IV. 1.169⁷ and the formation of the word

¹ वासुदेवार्जुनाभ्यां वुन् ॥ ४. ३. ९८ ॥

² Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism and other Minor Sects pp. 4-5.

³ भीमादयोऽपादाने ॥ ३. ४. ७४ ॥

⁴ द्रोणपर्वतजिवन्तादन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ४. १. ७४ ॥

⁵ आपो जुषाणो वृष्णो वर्षिष्टेऽन्वेऽम्बालेऽम्बिके पूर्वे ॥ ६. १. ११८ ॥

⁶ ऋष्यन्धकवृष्णिक्कुरुभ्यश्च ॥ ४. १. ११४ ॥

⁷ साल्वेयगान्धारिभ्यां च ॥ ४. १. १६९ ॥

Mahābhārata taught in VI. 2. 38.¹ To these some more can be easily added if we study closely the words whose formation is taught in that work. That done we find the formation of the word "Yudhiṣṭhira" explained in VIII. 3. 95² that of the word "*Kuntī*" in IV. 1. 176³ and those of "Duryodhana" and "Duḥśāsana" in III. 3. 130⁴. I do not attach much importance to the references in Pāṇini to "Śakuni" in VI. 1. 142, 146, "Nakula" in VI. 3. 75, "Droṇa" in VI. 1. 103, and "Vidūra" in IV. 3. 84 because those words have not been used there as the names of human beings.

3. (b) *To its author, his pupils and grandpupils.* — Moreover Pāṇini shows acquaintance with Kṛṣṇa Dvaipāyana, son of Parāśara, his pupils, Paila and Vaiśampāyana and several other ancient and contemporary Brāhmaṇa sages. "Pārāśarya" is referred to as the sage who was the author of the *Bhikṣu-sūtra* in IV. 3. 110.⁵ A special class of Bhikṣus who studied that Sūtra of his were distinguished after him as the "Pārāśariṇaḥ." Paila was a pupil of his whom he had given the *Ṛk Saṁhitā*.⁶ This word is shown to be both a Gotra and a Yuvan word in the Sūtras II. 4. 59 and VI. 1. 118.⁷ Vaiśampāyana is a second pupil of his to whom he had given the *Kṛṣṇa Yajurveda Saṁhitā* and he was also the pupil whom he had taught the *Bhārata Saṁhitā*, which enabled him to recite it at the court of Janamejaya during a great sacrifice.⁸ The works of his "Antevāsins" have been referred to in IV. 3. 104.⁹ Śākalya, whose views on the method of recitation of the Vedas are often referred to,¹⁰ was the son of Saubhari, who had learnt the *Baḥvṛca* (Rgveda) *Saṁhitā* from Deva-

¹ महान् ब्रीह्यपराह्ल जाबाल, भार, भारत, ररेवप्रवृद्धेषु ॥६. २. ३८॥

² गवियुधिस्थिरः ॥ ८. ३. ९५ ॥

³ स्त्रियामवन्तिकुरुभ्यश्च ॥ ४. १. १७६ ॥

⁴ अन्येभ्योऽपि दृश्यते ॥ ३. ३. १३० ॥

⁵ पाराशर्यशालिलिभ्यां भिक्षुनटसूत्रयोः ॥ ४. ३. ११० ॥

⁶ Bhāgavata Purāṇa XII, 6. 52; Pargiter, Ancient Indian Historical Tradition pp. 322-23.

⁷ पैलादिभ्यश्च ॥ २. ४. ५९ ॥ बीलाया वा ॥ ४. १. १०८ ॥

⁸ Bhā. Pu. XII. 6. 15-58; Ādiparvan I. 57-58; Pargiter, AIHT pp. 322-23.

⁹ कलापिवैशम्पायनादिभ्यश्च ॥ ४. ३. १०४ ॥

¹⁰ Pāṇini I. 1. 16; VI. 1. 127; VIII. 4, 51 etc.

mitra, who had received its knowledge from Māṇḍukeya, a grand pupil of Paila through Indrapramiti in the line of teachers of the said Samhita.¹ Śākalya is also shown to be a contemporary of Adhisimākṛṣṇa, Vāskali, Śākapūrṇa and Yājñavalkya, II (son of Brahmavāha, not Vājasaneyin).² Śaunaka referred to in IV. 3. 106³ was the family name of an ancient line of sages, and the personal name of one of the sages before whom the *Mahābhārata* or *Bhārata* is said to have been recited by Sūta, a contemporary of Adhisimākṛṣṇa.⁴ Lastly, Kaṇva is the reputed founder of a Śākhā of the white Yajurveda.⁵ A Gotra named after him is referred to in Pāṇini IV. 2. 111⁶. It is a well-known fact that the *White Yajurveda Samhitā* was first compiled by Yājñavalkya Vājasaneyin or Devarāṭi, a contemporary of Śātānika, the son of Janamejaya III⁷ and Kaṇva and Mādhyandina from amongst the pupils of Yājñavalkya who founded 15 Śākhās of that Veda, are said to have heard it recited by "Hari (the Sun-god) who had entered the body of a horse."⁸ It is therefore clear that Pāṇini must have belonged to a generation later than that of the said sage and his direct pupils Kaṇva and Mādhyandina. How much later, the references to Śākalya above given, tell very convincingly. It must be the third generation from his, because Yājñavalkya Vājasaneyin was a contemporary of Śātānika, the 98th in descent from Manu Vaivasvata while Śākalya was one of Adhi-

¹ Bhā. Pu. XII. 6. 54-57. According to Pargiter (AIHT, Pp. 322-23) Śākalya was the eighth in descent from Paila, a direct pupil of Vyāsa. According to the Bhā. Pu. (XII. 6. 57) he had sub-divided the Samhitā into 5 parts and taught one each to his 5 pupils, Vātsya, Mudgala and others.

² Pargiter, AIHT, pp. 330-31.

³ शौनकादिभ्यश्छन्दसि ॥ ५. ३. १०६ ॥

⁴ Adiparvan I-V, particularly I. 1. 19; IV. 1. 1. etc.; Pargiter, AIHT, p. 201.

⁵ Bhā. Pu. XII. 7. 74.

⁶ कण्वादिभ्यो गोत्रे ॥ ५. २. १११ ॥

This reference is enough to show that the opinion of Göldstucker, confirmed by Thieume (Pāṇini and the Veda, p. 74) cited by Dr. Sastri (Lectures on Patañjali's Mahābhāṣya, Vol. I, p. XXVIII) that Pāṇini had not drawn upon the Samhitā of the White Yajurveda cannot be true and reliable.

⁷ Pargiter, AIHT, pp. 330-31.

⁸ Bhā. Pu. XII. 7. 73.

simakṛṣṇa, the 100th in descent from the said progenitor¹. The "tulyakālatva" (being of the same age) of Yājñayalkya, spoken of by Kātyāyana in his Vārttika on IV.3.105² must, in view of the above, be understood to convey the idea that he was not relatively to Pāṇini so old a sage as to deserve to be included in the category of the "Purāṇa" Ṛṣis.

4. The above references justify the inference that Pāṇini must necessarily have been aware of the division of the Veda into four Saṁhitās, of the existence of some of the Brāhmaṇas at least, they being of the nature of commentaries on the Saṁhitās, some of the old Upaniṣads and the Kalpasūtras, which served to act as guides in the use of the Mantras of the Saṁhitās at sacrifices, and also of the institution of the Vedic "Carakas" presided over by Ācāryas where the Vedas were taught along with their Aṅgas to pupils who observed celibacy. When his work is examined from that standpoint, the Sūtras below-mentioned³ prove that to be a fact.

5. Nay more. The mention of the *Bhikṣusūtra* and even the *Nataṣūtra* in IV.3.110 as works of ancient writers goes to show that the composition of non-Vedic works in the Sūtra style, which are included in the works of the "Smṛti" class as opposed to those of the "Śruti" class, *i. e.*, works composed by the scholars (Śiṣṭas) who lived in the Āryāvarta,⁴ had commenced a fairly long time prior to the time of Pāṇini. Again the mention of the first and of "Dharma" with reference to the "Carakas", in IV. 2. 46, of a "Brahmacārin" in VI. 3. 86, of the schools of the Kalāpas, Kāthakas, Carakas, Chāndogas and Kāṇvas in the various other sūtras and of the "Maskarins" as the synonym of the "Parivrā-

¹ Pargiter, AIHT, pp. 330-31.

² पुराणप्रोक्तेषु ब्राह्मणकल्पेषु ॥ ४. ३. १०५ ॥ का. बा.—याज्ञवल्क्यादिभ्यः प्रतिषेध-
स्तुल्यकालत्वात् ॥

This excludes the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa.

³ I. 2. 39; 4. 29, 79; II. 4. 63; IV. 2. 46, 66; 3. 69, 105, 107, 126, 129; 4. 107; V. 1. 62, 72; 2. 59; VI. 1. 71; 3. 86, 113; VIII. 1. 108; 4. 52. The remark of Patañjali सर्ववेदपाठिदं हीदं शास्त्रम् ॥ as to the Aṣṭādhyāyī (Mahābhāṣya on VI. 3. 14) is thus found to be completely well-founded.

⁴ Sastri, op. cit. pp. XIV-XV; Baudhāyana Dharmasūtra I. 1. 2. 10.

jakas" in VI.1.154¹ point to there having been established fixed orders of Brahmacārins and Sannyāsins and definite rules of conduct having been framed and caused to be observed in the Caranas and in the society at large. It is also possible that some of these works had been committed to writing because there is a reference to a "Lipi" in III.2.21. The references to "Bhāṣā" in VIII.2.98 and to "Śloka" in III.1.25 and III.2.23 show that the popular language at least in the Madhyadeśa was somewhat different from Vedic and that ballads and didactic songs in Ślokas may have been current in society prior to the time of the grammarian. Most probably the *Bhārata Saṁhitā* in a skilfully woven texture made out of such loose threads of narratives, songs etc. This must have been done a fairly long time before that of Pāṇini.

III. *Bhagavadgītā an essential part of that Saṁhitā.*

6. When the *Bhagavadgītā* is viewed as a whole it appears to have been composed specially for dissuading people from throwing off the social restrictions incidental to a family life and resorting to a solitary place for one's spiritual elevation. Even in the *Śāntiparvan*, the foundation of the teaching of Rājadharmā, Āpaddharma and Mokṣadharmā to Yudhiṣṭhira is laid on a basis similar to that in the *Gītā*, namely, that Yudhiṣṭhira was inclined to give up the kingdom as it had been won after killing several elderly and younger relations and friends and to resort to a solitary place for the expiration of the sin involved in doing so. The difference between the nature of the exposition made in both of

* मस्करमस्करिणौ वेणुपरिब्राजकयोः ॥ ६. १. १५४ ॥

Amongst the Upaniṣads of the earliest group it is the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* which speaks of a sage, Yājñavalkya, having formally renounced the world after having initiated his wife Maitreyī into the Adhyātmavidyā (IV. 5. 15). Next to it comes probably the *Jābāla*, which purports to record the rules on the subject of Sannyāsa as the fourth Āśrama, promulgated by Yājñavalkya himself. There are several other later Upaniṣads dealing with that subject such as the *Āruṇika*, *Paramahansa*, *Nīrvāṇa*, *Turiyātīta*, *Sannyāsa*, *Paramahansa-Parivrājaka*, *Avadhūta* and others. The *Mahābhārata* (XII, 3. 46, 16-20) refers to a special treatise, a *Tyāgaśāstra*, composed for the guidance of the Bhāllavins known by the name of *Saṁyogavadha*. This is most probably a work subsequent to the Upaniṣads. The *Paramahansas* are those recluses who are not bound by any of the rules of the order prescribed by the Śāstra on Varṇāśrama Dharma.

them is that while in the *Gītā* it is only the principles that are enunciated, in the *Śāntiparvan* they are elaborately discussed and illustrated.¹ According to a statement in the *Ādiparvan*² Vyāsa had composed the *Bhārata Saṃhitā* after the three sons begotten by him on the widows of Vicitravīrya, had died, which means even after Dhṛtarāṣṭra and Vidūra, who were staying with the Pāṇḍavas after Yudhiṣṭhira's coronation, had died. His object in composing it was to supply a book of guidance to the men and women who could not study the Vedas, the primary source of Dharma.³ It is therefore described as an Upaniṣad⁴ and the Kṛṣṇa-Veda.⁵ It being in the form of the narration of a dialogue and the middle age life of Kṛṣṇa being largely intertwined with that of the Pāṇḍavas, the principal *dramatis personæ* in war were made use of therein as the types of men and women who were fit to impart and to receive or resent the teaching embodied therein. It is therefore idle to consider in connection with the *Bhagavadgītā* the question whether a conversation of such length as extending over about 650 verses could have been shown by the poet to have taken place on the battlefield on the eve of the commencement of operations, and to come to the conclusion that "in all probability the original epic included only a very short dialogue between Arjuna and the hero and charioteer (not the god) Kṛṣṇa."⁶ The only explanation can be that the poet-teacher thought in his wisdom that the said was the right place and occasion for expounding the teaching contained therein. The same may be said of the teaching contained in the *Śāntiparvan*. Both before and after the battle, the principal characters are overpowered by a feeling of despondency and in the *Gītā*, Kṛṣṇa alone, as was appropriate to the occasion, and in the *Śāntiparvan*, Bhīṣma Kṛṣṇa and Vyāsa come to their rescue and save them from abandoning the tasks before them by advising them to perform them

1 This is also the view of Lok. Tilak expressed in his *Gītā-Rahasga* at p. 518 of the 1915 edition.

2 *Ādiparvan* I. 55-56.

3 Op. cit. 191-210. This is borne out by the *Bhagavadgītā* having promised the attainment of the highest state even by women and Śūdras (IX.32) and recommended that even one who was the most misbehaved should be looked upon as a Sadhu (good man) if he is singularly devoted to the Lord (IX.30).

4 Op. cit. 205.

5 Op. cit. 191.

6 Winternitz, HIL., Vol. I. p. 437.

in a spirit of service to the Almighty instead of in that of egoism and selfishness.

7. Moreover the main topics dealt with in the original *Bhārata Saṁhitā* as a whole containing 24,000 verses were (1) a detailed history of the Kuru dynasty, (2) the devotion to Dharma of Gāndhārī, (3) the mature wisdom of Vidūra, (4) the fortitude of Kuntī, (5) the spiritual and moral greatness (Māhātmya) of Vāsudeva and (6) the adherence to the principles of right conduct (Satyadharmatā) of the Pāṇḍavas¹. The fifth topic shows that Kṛṣṇa had been looked upon as an Avatāra by the poet and several of his contemporaries and that the narration of how he behaved and advised others to behave on critical occasions must have, from the first, formed a part of the original *Saṁhitā*. Without it the *Saṁhitā* would not have been acknowledged as the fifth Veda, which it has been even in one of the older Upaniṣads². As stated above it claims to be an Upaniṣad, a secret doctrine. How could it be so without the incorporation of the "Guhya", "Guhyatara" and "Guhyatama" teachings contained in the *Gītā*³ which have earned for that work too the title of the *Bhagavadgītā*⁴? And these teachings have been so moulded as to be comprehensible even to the unsophisticated. It is they and the manner of their presentation⁵, not the philosophical exposition in that work, which had attracted the attention of the European Scholars and induced them to assign to it a place in the world-literature on a par with the Bible.

8. It is wrong to say, as many Indians even do, that it is an Upākhyāna (subsidiary episode) in the *Bhārata Saṁhitā* and as such could have been subsequently added. An Upākhyāna is a story in which the characters must be different from those in the original work though narrated by one of the latter to another,

¹ Ādiparvan I. 59-61.

² Chāndogya Upaniṣad VII. 2.

³ Bha. Gī. XI. 1; XVIII. 68, 75; XVIII. 63; XV. 20.

⁴ This topic will be found elaborately dealt with in my paper on the "Probable Sources of the Bhagavadgītā" (JJRI, Vol. IV, Pts. 3-4, p. 287.)

⁵ Mark that throughout the work there is no statement containing a reference to the Advaita doctrine of the illusory nature of the worldly phenomena. The "Divine Māyā" in VII 14-15 is the "Guṇamayī Prakṛti" which causes "Moha" (delusion).

such for instance as the Nalākhyāna, Satyavān-Sāvitrī Akhyāna, Sanat-sujātiya, Uparicarākhyāna and so on. In the *Bhagavadgītā*, except Dhṛtarāṣṭra, Saṁjaya, Arjuna and Kṛṣṇa as Bhagavān there is no other speaker or hearer.

IV. *Its structure not inconsistent with its being the work of a pre-Pāṇinian author.*

9. Now, if it was a part of the *Bhārata Saṁhitā* as composed by Veda Vyāsa, whom I have shown to be a pre-Pāṇinian author, its structure, *i. e. to say*, its prosody and grammatical construction and the use of words and turns of expression and also the metaphors therein must be very simple indeed and free from inconvenient conventional rules laid down in the work of Pāṇini and his contemporaries.

9 A. Thereout as for the metres made use in these works they are short and sweet. Speaking particularly of this work, out of the 700 stanzas in the vulgate, 645 are found to have been composed in the Anuṣṭubh or Śloka metre. This and some others, were, according to Madhusūdana Sarasvatī¹ known as the "Laukika" metres and were modifications of the Vedic metres, Anuṣṭubh, Triṣṭubh and others, made in order to suit the composition of the Itihāsa and Purāṇa works. That leaves only 55 stanzas in other metres. Thereout 51 are in either Indravajrā or Upendravajrā, both modifications of the Vedic Triṣṭubh, consisting of 4 lines of 11 syllables each, differing only in the arrangement of the Gaṇas (syllabic feet). The remaining 4 are of the mixed type called Upajāti. Three of them² have 3 lines of 11 syllables each and 1 of 12. The fourth has two lines of 11 syllables and two of 12.³

10. In this respect the *Bhagavadgītā* falls in the same class as not only the *Mahābhārata* but also the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya⁴ and some of the Upaniṣads of the early and middle periods

¹ Divanji's edition of the Prasthānabheda with a Gujarati translation, notes, introduction etc., p. 30.

² These are:— II. 29. (11, 12, 11, 11), VIII, 10 (11, 11, 11, 12) and XV, 3 (12, 11, 11, 11).

³ This is II. 6.

⁴ The metres found in the verse interspersed between prose passages in the Sūtra style in the Arthaśāstra are the Anuṣṭubh, Indravajrā, Upendravajrā (Trivendrum edition, p. 70), Upajāti (Ibid p. 73), Indravajrā again (Ibid p. 74) and Upajāti again (Ibid pp. 365-66).

such as the *Īśa*, *Kena*, *Kaṭha*, *Śvetāśvatara*, *Muṇḍaka* and *Prāśna*.

11. As for grammatical irregularities, Lok. Tilak has in the *Gītā-Rahasya*¹ noted some instances of archaic uses of some of the words used and of some of Un-Pāṇinian Samdhis occurring in the work. Those of the first are:— “Anta” in II. 16, “Bhāṣa” in the sense of Lakṣaṇas in II. 54, “Brahman” in the sense of Prakṛti in XIV. 3, “Yoga” in the sense of Karma-Yoga (at places not specified) and the use of the expletive “ha” in II. 9. Those of the latter are:— “Namaskṛtvā” in XI. 35, “Śākya ahaṁ” in XI. 48 and “SenānInāmahaṁ Skandaḥ,” (a wrong use of the genitive case-inflexion) in X. 24. These instances can be easily increased by the addition of the following ones namely:— “Tvā” (II. 2 and XVIII. 66 in the vulgate, II. 7, XI. 19. 21 and 32 in the Kāśmīr recension) “Nirāśīrbandhanaḥ” (II. 48) and “Bhogaiśvaryagatīḥ” (II. 48), both in the Kāśmīr recension, “Vrajeta kiṁ” in the sense of “Katham gacchet” (II. 53), “Atha” (IV. 35), “Yogaiḥ” in the sense of “Yogibhiḥ” (V. 5), “Sukham” in the sense of “Sukhena” (V. 3, 13), “Yatra kāle” in the sense of “Yasmin kāle” (VIII. 23), “Avaśam” in the sense of “Asvatantram” (IX. 8), “Āthha,” an unusual form of “Brū” or “Ah,” (XI. 3), “Prasādaye” in the sense of “Prasādārthe prārthaye” (XI. 54), “Sarvataḥpāṇipādāntam” in the Kāśmīr recension (XIII. 13), “Dhīṣṭhitam” in place of “Adhīṣṭhitam” (XIII. 17). “Ahetukam” in the Kāśmīr recension (XVI. 8), “Anekacittavibhrāntaḥ,” where “citta” means “Citta vṛtti,” (XVI. 16), “Nibodha me” (XVIII. 13, 50) and “Śruṇu me” (XVIII. 36), where “me” is used in the sense of “from me,” “Bahulāyāsam” (XVIII. 24), wherein an adjective and a noun are compounded together and used in the sense of “Bahulāyāsena,” and “Kleśabahulam” in the Kāśmīr recension (XVIII. 24). Additional instances of irregular uses of tenses can be shown to be:— those of “Gantāsi” (II. 52), and “Jetāsi” (XI. 34). Irregular Samdhis are further found in “He sakheti” (XI. 41). “Priyāyārhasi” (XI. 44), “Aparasparasambhūtam” (XVI. 8)

¹ *Parīśiṣṭa-prakaraṇa*, p. 511.

and "Namaskuru" (XVIII. 65). A case of elliptical construction is found in XVII.1.¹. Śaṅkara and his followers finding a difficulty in construing the sentence understand "tu" in the sense of Avasthānam, the word "Niṣṭhā", which is a noun in the nominative case, to have been used in the sense of "Niṣṭhāyaḥ" and "kā" in that of "kim.". These instances are picked up from my *Critical Word-Index*. If the text itself is scanned perhaps many more may be found. These are, however, enough to demonstrate the pre-Pāṇinian character of the work.

12. The same conclusion is borne out by the different uses to which the philosophical terms like "Ātman," "Brahman", "Buddhi," "Sāṅkhya," "Yoga," "Jñāna" etc. and their derivatives and even the roots like "Yuj" are put in this work.² This topic is so comprehensive and vast that separate papers are required to be written on the relation between this work and the standard works on the Sāṅkhya, Yoga and Vedānta systems of philosophy. On that of the "Bhagavadgītā and the Sāṅkhya Philosophy" I already read one paper at the session of the I. P. Congress at Bombay in December 1948. One on the "Bhagavadgītā and Yoga philosophy" is half-finished while that on the "Bhagavadgītā and the Vedānta Philosophy" is only under contemplation. The conclusion which is drawn in the first-mentioned paper and is likely to be common to the two others is that there is sufficient evidence, internal and external, as to the *Gītā* having been composed at a time much earlier than that in which the standard works on the three systems were composed. This conclusion does not deserve to be much emphasised here because even in Pāṇini's grammar many philosophical terms are found to have been used in their etymological senses and none is found to

¹ तेषां निष्ठा तु का रुष्ण सत्त्वमाहो रजस्तमः ॥ १७. १ ॥

² E. g. the word "Ātman" is used in VI. 5-7 in the sense of the "Jīva" or the empirical self in the compound "Yatacittātmā", in VI. 10 in the sense of the sense-organs, in the compounds "Ātmaviśuddhaye" and "Prasāntātmā" in VI. 12-14 in the sense of the Antaḥkāraṇa, and in the verse यत्रोपरमते चित्तम् etc. (VI. 20) in the senses of the self as objectified in the state of trance and the Antaḥkāraṇa. The word "Brahman" has been used in the sense of the "Akṣara" in IV. 24, in that of the "Saviśeṣa-Brahman" in VIII. 24, in that of the "Prakṛti" in XIV. 3-4 and so on.

have been used in its secondary technical sense.¹ It should only be noted that on the first point the *Bhagavadgītā* is on a par with the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* and that one of its peculiarities is that it contains too many new words and phrases specially coined from familiar words for expressing unfamiliar philosophical ideas by the grammatical devices of forming Nañ compounds by prefixing "A" or "An" and the rhetoric device of equating or comparing metaphysical ideas to concrete objects.²

13. This brings us to the question of the similes and metaphors made use of therein. Their number is found to be so large that I cannot explain here exhaustively what are the unfamiliar objects or ideas to be made familiar and what are the familiar objects through which they are sought to be made familiar. I therefore cite below³ the chapters and verses in which they are found to occur and make the general remark which had suggested itself to me on a close scrutiny of those figures of speech, namely that the author shows thereby a greater familiarity of himself and the people of his age with the Vedic religion and its pantheon, its mode of worship by sacrifices and the notions of Puṇya and Pāpa and Svarga and Naraka, than with the Paurāṇic religion, wherein the worship of the idols of Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Rudra and Āditya predominates, and with the ordinary actions in which a Brāhmaṇa and a Kṣatriya used to be engaged. To cite a few examples, the necessity to suppress the desire for enjoyment of the

¹ See for example the use of the word "Yoga" in I. 2. 55 and V. 1. 102, "Yukta" in I. 2. 51 and VI. 2. 81, "Buddhi" in I. 4. 52, "Ātman" in III. 1. 8, V. 1. 9, and VI. 3. 6; 4. 141, 169, "Brahman" in III. 2. 87, "Puruṣa" in III. 4. 43; IV. 1. 24; V. 1. 16; 2. 38; 4. 56 and VI. 2. 190, "Bhakta" (meaning food or a regularly fed servant) in IV. 4. 68 and VI. 2. 71, "Jyotis" (meaning a heavenly body) in VI. 3. 84 etc.

² See for example "Akīrti" (XVI. 2), "Akuśala" (XVIII. 10), "Akṛtātman" (XV. 11), "Akṛtsnavit" (III. 29), "Akrodha" (XVI. 2), "Acetas" (III. 32; XV. 11, XVII. 6), "Atattvārthavat" (XVIII. 22), "Atapaska" (XVIII. 67), "Adṛṣṭapūrva" (XI. 45), "Ananyabhāk" (IX. 30), "Anabhiṣvaṅga" (XIII. 9), "Anabhisneha" (II. 57), "Ayaśa" (X. 5) etc.

³ I. 1; II. 22, 32, 46, 58, 69, 70; III. 16, 23, 37, 38, 39; IV. 11. 19, 24-30, 36, 37, 42; V. 10, 13, 16; VI. 8. 19, 24, 34, 38; VII. 7; IX. 6, 15; X. 11; XI. 2, 12, 17, 25, 28, 29; XIII. 32, 33; XV. 1-3, 8, 10; XVI. 21, 22; XVII. 48, 61, 70,

sense-objects is emphasised by saying that all desires must be merged in the self just as all the waters are merged in the sea, (II.70), further, desire is personified and called a voracious eater and to be insatiable like fire (III.37.39), the human soul is said to have been enveloped by ignorance, as fire is by smoke, a mirror by dirt, a foetus by a skin-bag (III.38), one is advised not to worry about the event of death because it means only a change of clothing (II.22), one's intellect is said to have become steady when the senses are made to quit their habit of running after objects and to be drawn inwards to the self as a tortoise draws in its limbs (II.58), the human body is called a town with nine gates (V.13), restraint of each, the mind, the senses and the vital breath, is compared to a sacrifice (IV. 24-30) and so on. Owing to the various effects knowledge has on the human mind it is compared with numerous familiar objects such as a boat (IV. 36), fire (IV. 37), a sword (IV. 42), a sacrifice (IV. 19 ; IX. 15, XVIII. 70), a lamp (X. 11) and an additional eye (XV. 10). Similarly, the sun and its light, the sky, the wind, a lotus-leaf, a tree, a thread passing through several beads, a destructive weapon and other things have been pressed into service either for drawing comparisons or for identification.

14. The social organisation also to which references are found in the *Gītā*¹ puts it in a line with the *Rgveda*² rather than with the *Dharmaśāstra*, because whereas the four Varnas are, the four orders are not, referred to therein. True, there are references to "Brahmacarya"³ and "Brahmacārī-vrata"⁴, but they are referred to as a kind of Tapas and as an aid to the realisation of the Highest Essence, not as an Āśrama. Similarly, there are frequent references to "Sannyāsa" and "Sannyāsins." But the word "Sannyāsa" is never used in the sense of an Āśrama.⁵ Even when it is compounded with either 'Karman' or "Yoga" it has

¹ IV. 13 and XVIII. 41-47.

² Puruṣasūkta, Rg. X. 90.

³ VIII. 11 ; XVII. 14.

⁴ VI. 14.

⁵ See entries Nos. 3430-38 in Pt. IA of the *Critical Word-Index* by Divanji.

an etymological meaning. The same is the case when the word "Sannyāsin" is compounded with the words "Nitya" and "Sarva-saṁkalpa."¹

V. Concluding Remarks

15. The conclusions that can thus be arrived at on a critical examination of the materials collected together in this paper are that there are numerous references in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* furnishing unmistakeable proof of its author being aware of the existence of the original *Bhārata Saṁhitā* composed by the same sage who had arranged the *Vedic Saṁhitās*, of the Vedic traditions current in the *Carakas* founded by his pupils and grandpupils and their successors upto the time of *Adhisīmakṛṣṇa* of *Hastināpura*, the 6th in descent from the *Pāṇḍava Arjuna*, the principal hero on the *Pāṇḍava* side in the *Bhārata* war and the pupil to whom the teaching in the *Bhagvadgītā* has been imparted, and of the Vedic and post-Vedic literatures that had come into being till then, that the *Bhagvadgītā* must have been a part of the original *Bhārata Saṁhitā* and that there is nothing in its prosody, grammar, use of philosophical terms and metaphors and in the picture of social life of the age presented by it which militates against its being the work of the pre-Pāṇinian author, *Veda Vyāsa*, and therefore a work of the early *Smṛti* period which preceded the commencement of the *Sūtra* period. The question whether it has retained the same form throughout deserves to have a separate paper devoted to it.²

¹ See *Ibid* entries No. 970-72 in Part IIA.

² This question has now been dealt with by me at considerable length in my contribution to the *Potdar Commemoration Volume*, entitled "Was there an Original Shorter *Gītā*," which is being printed.

DATE OF ŚRIDHARASVĀMIN, AUTHOR OF THE
COMMENTARIES ON THE BHAGAVATA
PURĀṆA AND OTHER WORKS
(Between C. A. D. 1350 and 1450)

BY

P. K. GODE

During the course of my studies in Indian literary history my attention was directed to the date of Śrīdharasvāmin, the author of the popular Sanskrit commentary on the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* and other works. In this connection I consulted a Marathi book called the *Bhāgavatadarśa* by Mr. Kolhatkar, who states on p. 494 of his book that the date of Śrīdharasvāmī is not certain. In view of this statement I began to collect some data on the problem of Śrīdharasvāmī's date for the purpose of clarifying the present doubts and uncertainties about this date. The notes gathered by me so far are recorded in this paper with my tentative conclusion about this date within the limits of the data discovered by me.

(1) J. N. Farquhar in his *Outline of Religious Literature of India* (Oxford, 1920) refers to Śrīdhara's date as follows:-

Page 231 — “ Śrīdhara Svāmī, the author of the most famous commentary on it (*Bhāgavata*), who probably lived about A. D. 1400.”

Page 239 — *Bhāgavatabhāṣya* of Viṣṇusvāmī is referred to by Śrīdharasvāmin in his comment on *Bhāgavata* P.-I. 7.

Page 269 — *Devī Bhāgavata* is prior to “ Śrīdhara who lived about A. D. 1400.”

Page 297 — Probably about A. D. 1400, Śrīdharasvāmī, Mahant of the Śaṅkarite monastery, Govardhana in Purī, wrote a commentary on the *Bhāgavata* P. He begins his commentary with the *distinct statement that the great Purāṇa* was not written by

VOPADEVĀ ... Śrīdhara wrote at a time *considerably later than A. D. 1300*, when Vopadeva flourished." Śrīdhara's commentary was well-known by the end of the 15th century.

Page 308 — Caitanya read *Bhāgavata* with Śrīdhara's commentary.

Page 359 — Bhaṭṭa Nilakaṇṭha, the author of *Tilaka* commentary on the *Devī Bhāgavata* calls himself a disciple of Śrīdhara. As Śrīdhara flourished about A. D. 1400 Nilakaṇṭha may belong to the 15th or the 16th century.

(2) Aufrecht in his *Catalogus Catalogorum* makes the following entries about Śrīdharasvāmin and his works:-

C. C. I, p. 669 — " श्रीधरस्वामिन् pupil of Paramānanda :

(1) — भगवद्गीता टीका सुबोधिनी¹

(2) — भगवद्गीतासार टीका²

(3) — भागवतपुराण-टीका भावार्थ-दीपिका³

(4) — विष्णुपुराण टीका आत्मप्रकाश.⁴ He used the commentary of चित्तसुख.

(5) — वेदस्तुति टीका from his comm. on the भागवतपुराण.

¹ CC I, 392-393 — सुबोधिनी by श्रीधरस्वामिन् — IO. 184, 286 W. p. 105, 108. Oxf. 2a. Paris (D 6). Khn. 24. K. 34. B. 2. 58. Report XXVII, (सुबोधिनी). Ben. 72. 78. Tub. 16. 20 Radh. 5. Oudh. XV. 16. Burnell 186a. Bhk. 30. Bhr. 254. 255. Bonn. 123. Oppert 2308, 7516. II, 3138. 5447. 6658. 7543. 8291.

CC II, 86 — BL. 181. Fl. 423. Gov. Or. Lib. Madras. 23. Hz. 81. 407. 457. 494. 575. IO. 286. 549. 846. 1577 A. 1910. 2070. 2147. 2387. 2764. 2803. Oudh. XX, 22. 24. XXII, 56. Stein 194.

CC III, 85 — AK 163. As p. 127. Gr. Cs. 4. 92. 93. 95. 96. 100. IO. 286. 549. 846 (till 3, 18). 1577 A (till 4, 25). 2070. 2147. 2387. 2764. 2803. Lz. 145. 146. 148. 149. 150. 151 (these both in a further recension). Whish 40.

² CC I, 393 — भगवद्गीतासारटीका by श्रीधराचार्य BP. 271.

³ CC I, 402 — भावार्थदीपिका by श्रीधरस्वामिन् (numerous MSS — Commentary on भा. दीपिका by केशवदास called भा. दी. स्नेहपूरिणी quoted by him in अहल्याकामधेनु which is a modern law book called after अहल्या, wife of Khaṇḍerao (Holkar).

⁴ CC I, 391 — आत्मप्रकाश or स्वप्रकाश by श्रीधरस्वामिन् (References :— India Office, Weber, Oxford, Bikaner, Burnell, Oppert).

(6) — ब्रजविहार (Printed in Haberslin, p. 519).

(7) — Some verses of his are given in पद्यावली (of रूप-
गोस्वामिन्)

(8) — पदार्थ प्रकाशिका-पुराण-टीका (?) Oppert II 4714.

C. C. II, 160 — (9) सनत्कुजातीयव्याख्या बालबोधिनी (BL. 201).
See C. C. II, 165.

(3) If Śrīdhara used the commentary on *Viṣṇupurāṇa* by Citsukha as stated in the above entries he must be later than Citsukha¹. Śrīdhara must be earlier than Rūpagosvāmin, who quotes some verses of Śrīdhara in his *Padyāvalī*. Citsukha is said to have flourished between A.D. 1220 and 1284². If this date for Citsukha is correct we are warranted in fixing C. A. D. 1200 as the earlier terminus to the date of Śrīdhara. In this connection Dr. S. K. De observes:— “ As Śrīdhara refers to Vopadeva, he could not have been earlier than 1300 A. D. ”. This view of Dr. De is in harmony with the statement of Amarnath Ray³ who states in one of his articles that Śrīdhara is a “ late 14th or early 15th century teacher ? ”

(4) The later limit to the date of Śrīdhara can be fixed definitely on the strength of some dated MSS of Śrīdhara's works noted below:—

(i) The *Catalogue of Anup Sanskrit Library*, (Bikaner, 1944) records the following MSS of Śrīdhara's commentaries dated A. D. 1516 and 1582:—

Page 96 — General No. 94 — विष्णुपुराणटीका (स्वप्रकाश) by श्रीधर-
स्वामिन्, folios 43, dated *Samvat* 1573 (A.D. 1516)
owner दीक्षित मणिराम.

1 Vamśīdhara, author of *Bhāvārthadīpikā* (Venkatesvara Press) informs us that the commentary on the *Bhāgavata* by Śrīdhara was preceded by that of Citsukha (Vide *Poona Orientalist*, Vol. I, No. 2, p. 65 — Review of *Śrī-
kalpalatā* by Dr. H. Sharma). If Vamśīdhara's statement is correct it supports Aufrecht's entry about the *posteriority* of Śrīdhara to Citsukha. According to Vamśīdhara two other commentaries on the *Bhāgavata* by Śaṅkara and Hanūmat respectively preceded Śrīdhara's commentary.

¹ See p. 278 of *Journal of Mythic Society*, January 1934.

² See p. 13 of *Vaiṣṇava Faith and Movement in Bengal* by S. K. De.

³ See p. 168 of Vol. XIV of *Annals* (B. O. R. Institute) — article of Amarnath Ray on “ Viṣṇusvāmin Riddle. ”

Page 91— General No. 29— भागवत-महापुराण-टीका (भावार्थदीपिका)
by श्रीधरस्वामिन् dated *Samvat* 1639 (*A. D.* 1582)
folios 117— owner Anūpasimha.

(ii) *Catalogue of Nepāl Manuscripts* by A. P. Śāstri and Cecil Bendall (Calcutta, 1905) records MSS of Śrīdhara's commentary on the *Bhāgavata* dated *A. D.* 1511 and 1590 as will be seen from the following extract:—

Preface p. li— “ भागवतटीका, p. 28, No. 934 ; and p. 91, No. 14 of the new collection. The first is Śrīdhara's commentary copied in Maithila character in *La. Sam.* 472 (= *A. D.* 1590) by Nārāyaṇa at Koreṇi in Mithilā. The second also was copied in the same character by Raghupati at the village Poari in *La. Sam.* 393 (= *A. D.* 1511). It contains the commentary on the eleventh and twelfth Skandhas only. ”

It is clear from the above evidence that there are MSS of Śrīdhara's commentaries dated *A. D.* 1511, 1516, 1582 and 1590. This evidence enables us to fix *A. D.* 1500 as the later limit to Śrīdhara's date. This limit can be pushed back still further on the basis of further evidence to follow.

(5) Viṣṇupurī of Tirhut was one of the early inspirers of the Bhakti movement in Bengal. He followed the tradition of Śrīdhara which he directly acknowledges in the closing verse of his work called-भागवत-भक्तिरत्नावली.¹ This verse² reads as follows:—

“ अत्र श्रीधरसत्तमौक्तिलिखने न्यूनाधिकं यद्भवे-
त्तत्क्षन्तुं सुधियोऽर्हत स्वरचनालुब्धस्य मे चापलम् ॥ ”

Caitanya himself possessed the highest veneration for Śrīdhara and on one occasion he is said to have repudiated a commentary on the *Gita* on the ground that it departed from Śrīdhara's interpretation.³ Kavi Karpapūra, who flourished much earlier than the

¹ Vide p. ix of Intro. to *Padyāvalī* ed. by S. K. De, Dacca, 1934 ; vide also p. 231 (Notes on authors).

² I am thankful to my friend Dr. S. K. De for sending me this verse from a Dacca University MS in his letter of 29th March 1935.

³ Vide p. xi of Intro. to *Padyāvalī*.

period of Caitanya mentions Viṣṇupurī as a predecessor according to Dr. S. K. De¹. We thus get the following series of authors from Śrīdhara onwards:—

श्रीधर— विष्णुपुरी²— कविकर्णपुर— चैतन्य³
(later than A.D. 1300) (A.D. 1350-1400) (A.D. 1485-1527)

(6) Rūpagosvāmin, disciple of Caitanya, who flourished *between A.D. 1495 and 1550* (p. liii of Intro. to *Padyāvalī* ed. by S. K. De) quotes some verses of Śrīdharaśvāmin in his *Padyāvalī* (p. 669 of Part I of *Cata. Catalogorum* by Aufrecht). This evidence would justify us in pushing back the later limit to the date of Śrīdharaśvāmin to about A. D. 1450. We have already referred to the priority of Śrīdhara to Caitanya, who was born in A. D. 1485.

(7) Lakṣmaṇabhaṭṭa in his commentary on the *Naiṣadha* refers to Śrīdhara's commentary on the *Bhāgavata* as follows:—

Folio 9 A of MS No. 714 of 1886-92—

“भागवते श्रीधरव्याख्यानात् ॥”

Lakṣmaṇabhaṭṭa flourished between A. D. 1431 and 1730 as I have shown in my paper⁴ on this author.

(8) Vaidya Mahādeva in his commentary on *Suśruta* (Baroda Oriental Institute MS No. 6041) quotes *Bhāgavata* and refers to Śrīdhara:—

¹ Vide p. 231 of *Padyāvalī*.

² Vide Farquhar's *Outline* etc., Page 302 — “Viṣṇupurī who belonged to Tirhut probably lived in the 2nd half of the 14th century” — Page 375 — *Bhaktiratnāvalī* of Viṣṇupurī, about A. D. 1400. Vide also Glassenapp's *Madhva Philosophie des Viṣṇu* Glaubens [Bonn and Leipzig, 1923, p. 61 — He is wrongly called a Madhva ascetic in these works]. (I owe this reference to Dr. S. K. De).

³ According to Duff's *chronology* (p. 264) Caitanya was born in A. D. 1485. According to Burgess' *Chronology of Modern India* (p. 21) Caitanya died in A. D. 1527. According to Farquhar (*Outline*, etc. p. 308) Caitanya “passed away in 1533.” According to Dr. De (p. xvii of *Padyāvalī* Intro.). Caitanya was born in February 1485 A. D. and died in June-July 1533 (p. xxx).

⁴ Vide pp. 312-314 of *Calcutta Oriental Journal*, Vol. II (1935).

“ दशमो हरिः इति श्रीधरोक्तेः¹ ॥ ”

(9) Rāmarṣi in his commentary on the *Nalodaya Kāvya* called the *Yamakabodhini* composed in A. D. 1608 refers to Śrīdhara and his commentary on the *Bhāgavata* as follows in verse 5 at the end of MS No. 411 of 1887-91 in the Govt. MSS Library at the B. O. R. Institute (p. 374 of Catalogue of Kāvya MSS, Vol. XII, Part I, 1940) :—

Rāmarṣi compares his father Vṛddhavyāsa to Śrīdhara in the exposition of the *Bhāgavata* in verse 5 which reads as follows :—

“ श्रीभागवतभावार्थव्याख्याने श्रीधरोपमवृद्धः व्यासो भवत etc. ॥ ५ ॥ ”

(10) An illustrated MS. of the *Bhāgavata* with Śrīdhara's commentary (No. 61 of 1907-1915 in the Govt. MSS Library at the B. O. R. Institute, Poona) is dated *Saṃvat* 1705 (A. D. 1648, Thursday, 10th August).²

(11) Another MS of the *Bhāgavata* with Śrīdhara's commentary (No. 435 F of Viś I in the Govt. MSS Library at the B. O. R. Institute) is dated *Saṃvat* 1612 (= A. D. 1556). This date is in harmony with the dates A. D. 1511 (Nepal MS) and 1516 (Bikaner MS) already recorded by me while dealing with the dated MSS of Śrīdhara's commentary on the *Bhāgavata* copied in the 16th century.

(12) Dr. P. V. Kane³ refers to one “ श्रीधरस्वामिन् mentioned by रघुनन्दन in एकादशीतत्त्व (Vol. II, p. 25), in मलमासतत्त्व (Vol. I, p. 820, as the author of a समुच्चय ”). According to Dr. Kane Raghunandana the author of एकादशीतत्त्व flourished between A. D. 1490 and 1570 (see p. 419 of Vol. I of *History of Dharmaśāstra*, 1930). If this Śrīdharasvāmin is identical with his name-sake, the commentator of the *Bhāgavata* etc. we get A. D. 1490 as the later terminus to the date of Śrīdharasvāmin, which harmonises with his priority to Caitanya (born A. D. 1485) as noted by me already in this paper.

¹ When I took down this quotation fifteen years ago from the Baroda MS I forgot to note the exact number of the folio on which this quotation is found.

² Vide my paper on this MS in *New Indian Antiquary*, Vol. I (1938) July, pp. 249-253.

³ Vide p. 752 of *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Poona, 1930.

(13) There are in the Govt. MSS Library at the B. O. R. Institute, Poona, the following dated MSS of Śrīdharasvāmin's commentary called the *Subodhini* on the *Bhagavadgītā*:-

- (i) No. 164 of 1891-95— dated *Samvat* 1762 (= A. D. 1706)
- (ii) No. 255 of 1882-83— dated *Samvat* 1745 (= A. D. 1689)
- (iii) No. 60 of 1902-07— dated *Śaka* 1696 (= A. D. 1774)
- (iv) No. 163 of 1891-95— dated *Samvat* 1853 (= A. D. 1797)
- (v) No. 425 of 1875-76— Paper MS, fragmentary and worn out, in Śāradā characters.

This MS contains the following stanza giving the date of the copying of the MS at the end:—

“ रागाविष्टे विक्रमादिन्यशाके ।
 माघे श्लुष्टे सोमवारेण दर्शे ॥
 सिद्धे योगे विष्णुनक्षत्रकृष्टे ।
 सिद्धक्षेत्रे माघवास्या विशिष्टे ॥ ”

The chronogram in this verse needs to be interpreted. Pandit Viśvanātha Śāstri of the Mahābhārata Department of the B. O. R. Institute interprets “ रागाविष्टे ” as meaning the year “ 1432 ” according to the “ कटपयादि ” system of calculation. The consonants in the expression “ रागाविष्टे ” are shown below with their numerical values:—

र (= 2) ग (= 3) व (= 4) ट (= 1)

Reversing the numbers 2, 3, 4, 1 we get 1432 as the year indicated by the expression “ रागाविष्टे. ” If this, calculation is correct the date of the MS would be *Vikramāditya Śaka* 1432 = A.D. 1376. I hope that experts in Indian chronology would verify this calculation in the light of other details mentioned in the last three lines of the stanza and see if it is correct.

On the strength of the data recorded above I am inclined to fix up the date of Śrīdharasvāmin between C.A.D. 1350 and 1450.

THE BUDDHIST MANU OR THE PROPAGATION OF HINDU LAW IN HINAYANIST INDOCHINA.*

BY

R. LINGAT

It is a well known fact that Hindu Law, i. e. *dharmaśāstras* law, has exercised a deep influence on the development of indigenous law in Burma, Siam, Cambodia and Laos, still visible in their present legislation. In all these countries, the name of Manu is associated, as in India, with the origin of the law.

This fact gives rise to a problem which has hitherto been left unnoticed by historians of Hindu law. The prescriptions of the *dharmaśāstras* are obligations of a religious character. They are authoritative in India because Hindus see in them the expression of a divine Law, which Manu revealed to the Great Sages who, in their turn, have transmitted it to mankind, in order that men might follow the way towards salvation. It is easy to understand that these prescriptions have retained their value outside of India, in countries where Indian civilization had brought brahmanical traditions. In such Hinduized countries, it was natural that the native rulers, whose education did not differ from that of Hindu princes, were inspired by the precepts of the Sacred Books of India to render justice. So, it is not surprising that local law was constituted there little by little within Hindu frames, as may be seen in Java and may be conjectured, through epigraphy, in Champa and in ancient Cambodia. Intervention of Mahāyānism does not appear to have impeded this influence of Hindu Law, for Mahāyāna, especially in outer India, is deeply tinged with Hinduism. But, in countries, like those first mentioned, where Indian civilization came or survived through the channel of Pali Buddhism, it seems, at least *prima facie*, that such an influence should have encountered an unsurpassable barrier. Pali Buddhism does not recognize the authority of the Vedas, and admits them as

* Translation of a French paper read at the XXIst International Congress of Orientalists, Paris, 1948.

a source of secondary knowledge only. It also rejects the primacy of the Brahman. Virtue and Science, not birth, confer Brahmanhood. Dharma is the Good Law preached by the Buddha. This new Dharma alone, and not the rules of conduct prescribed in the Brahmanical codes, will lead men to salvation. Consequently, it seems that we should notice in those countries a complete discontinuity or breaking off from the institutions and laws of Brahmanical India. What could be the value for the Buddhists of the prescriptions of the *dharmaśāstras*, the authority of which rests finally in the Vedas? Is it not, therefore, a paradoxical fact that Burmese and Siamese laws, as well as Cambodian and Laotian laws, are showing such conspicuous signs of Hindu, i. e. *dharmaśāstras*, influence?

In India proper, for the time when India was partly converted to Buddhism, the problem, as far as we can ascertain it, appeared in a different manner. The Right Path preached by the Buddha was opened to all, but as a way of individual salvation. The Buddha and his disciples, -the fact is now unquestioned, - have never contemplated revolutionizing social order as existing in India. The Buddhist canonical books contain rules forming a code (the Pāṭimokkha is a real code) but only for the use of the Samgha, the community of monks and the community of nuns, i. e. those who have left their families to lead a religious life. For the faithful remaining in the wordly life, the Buddha's instructions have a character so general that they do not necessarily disagree with the rules of caste, and even with the practices of domestic cult, to which they attach only a new and esoteric sense. They appeal essentially to feelings of the faithful. Moreover, some passages of the Buddhist Scriptures clearly show that the Buddha had no desire to play the part of a revolutionary apostle. Like Jesus, and almost in the same words as the Gospel, he urged the faithful to give to Caesar what belongs to Caesar. He wished to avoid trouble with the secular power. Accordingly the Hindu converted to Buddhism but still living in the world, the *upāsaka*, continued, after his conversion, to be subject to the same legal rules as before, i. e. the rules of his caste, corporation, village or family. It was only when he put on the *bhikkhu* robe that he was subjected to new rules and to a mode of life which

set him aside from the Hindu world. He then became an outcast and even a heretic, but at the same time he entered into a new community which was not very different from those associations of ascetics recognized by brahmanical laws, and which possibly would have eventually been integrated into the Hindu society, had Buddhist attitude not been so uncompromising on some points of doctrine. In any case, the want of special rules for the lay Buddhists was not felt in India, as Buddhist laymen remained in Indian society until an irresistible vocation had made them abandon their home to seek admission into the Buddha's Order. As long as the fruit of that vocation had not matured, the new religion constituted for the convert only an inner discipline which did not debar him from living according to secular laws.

The situation was different in those countries of Further India where Pali Buddhism was the dominating, if not the only religion. There Buddhism had necessarily to play the role of educator played elsewhere by Brahmanism, a role, therefore, not only religious, as in India, but also social. Buddhist immigrants there could not remain unconcerned with the administration of justice. They had to strive to influence local usages and customs; to introduce rules of conduct, i. e. they had to possess their own *dharmaśāstras*. It seems natural enough that they had looked for their models in India. But, in order to be used as such, Hindu codes had to undergo a deep transformation, and, first of all, means had to be found to maintain their imperative character, though their ties with Brahmanical traditions had to be severed.

This difficult adaptation was the work of the Mons or Talangs of Rāmaññadeśa, a nation which constitutes to-day a very small ethnic element in the populations of Burma and Siam, but which appears to have played in the past a very important role in these countries as a vehicle of Indian civilization. It is through the efforts of this gifted nation that the Buddhist part of Further India was provided with treatises in Pali, similar to the Sanskrit *dharmaśāstras*, and called *dharmasatthams*, after the corresponding Pali term.

This *dharmasattham* literature is not accurately known. As a matter of fact, we know it only through Burmese versions or

Burmese juridical literature of a much later period than the original Pali works. Fortunately Burmese law is much better known, thanks to the research undertaken by Sir John Jardine, British Commissioner for the Administration of Justice in Burma, and by Dr. E. Forchhammer, a German archaeologist appointed by the British Government in 1881 as head of the Archeological Service of Burma. Sir John Jardine persuaded Dr. Forchhammer to do inquiry on the origin and history of Burmese law. The result of his research was recorded by Dr. Forchhammer in a book published in Rangoon in 1885 under the title: *THE JARDINE PRIZE*. It is the only general work we still possess on the subject. Forchhammer's conclusions have been generally endorsed by all those who had since to deal with it. Forchhammer's book written at a time when Burma was, almost in all fields of research, *terra incognita*, cannot however be free from errors. A recent article by J. S. Furnivall: *MANU IN BURMA*¹ has cast some doubt on Forchhammer's argumentation and on the value of texts upon which it is founded, without, however, questioning his thesis concerning the general evolution of Burmese law.

The first reference we find to a *dharmasattham* is in a Burmese tradition according to which a Mon priest, named Sāriputta, at the request of king Narapatizithu, of Pagan, composed in 1174 A. D. a code based on a *Manudharmasattham*. This code was called *Dhammavilāsa*, after the title bestowed by the king to its author. Though this tradition came to us through a comparatively recent source (*A History of Burmese Literature* written at the end of the XVIIIth century), there are no serious reasons to reject it, especially as an echo of it is found in the famous Kalyāna inscriptions which date back to the end of the XVth century, and record an important religious reform accomplished under the reign of Dhammacedi (1472-1492), one of Wareru's successors on the throne of Pegu.

Another tradition, seemingly authentic, attributes to Wareru, who proclaimed himself king of Pegu on the very year of the fall of Pagan (1287 A.D.), the compilation in Mon language of another code, also based on a Pali *dharmasattham*.

¹ *Journ. of the Burm. Res. Soc.*, Vol. XXX, part II, Aug. 1940, p. 351.

On another side, the Burmese juridical literature, which appears at a much later period (XVIIth century) refers to many ancient *dharmasatthams* written in Pali, passages of which are often quoted in their original language, according to the habit of native translators and commentators.

It may be inferred from these facts or traditions that, previously to local codes, there existed in Burma *dharmasatthams* composed in Pali, the oldest of which were known during the Pagan period.

None of these works was transmitted to us in its original form. We have one, and even two, works bearing the name of Dhamma-vilāsa, but both are of the middle of the XVIIth century. It is possible, as Forchhammer believed, that they are, if not exactly commentaries, at least new versions of the work written in the XIIth century and alluded to by the Burmese tradition. But they may be left aside, as we are fortunate enough as to possess a Burmese version of the Wareru Code.

The Wareru Code, as stated above, is a Mon translation of a Pali Manudhammasattham. This Mon version was in its turn translated into Burmese in the second half of the XVIth century (between 1550 and 1560) and, according to J. S. Furnivall, revised in 1637 A. D. It is in this last Burmese version that the code came to our hands. Therefore, we get our information about the original Pali source only through two or even three successive translations made at dates very distant one from another. But it ought to be noticed that, in conformity with the habit of the native translators alluded to above many terms and quotations of the original work have survived through the translations. Besides, the contents of the book attest to its old age. A comparison with other pieces of Burmese juridical literature would show at once it is undoubtedly the oldest of all the *dharmasatthams* used in Burma. Forchhammer was right in paying special attention to it. He made an edition of it with English translation and notes in 1892 under the title : KING WAGARU'S MANU DHAMMASATTHAM.

The work is very short (39 p. only in the English translation). It begins with the Buddhist formula of adoration of the Three

Jewels, followed by an introduction stating the origin of the prescriptions contained in the *dharmasatthim*, to which I will revert later. Then, it enumerates the 18 branches of Law, corresponding broadly with the 18 *mārga* of the *Manusmṛti*. Each branch constitutes the title of a chapter under which the provisions concerning the matter are disposed. After the 18th chapter, rules concerning witnesses are laid down. The book is ended by the asseveration that a judge will go to Hell if he does not decide cases according to law, while a judge who administers justice in conformity with the sacred precepts will attain a higher condition on his rebirth.

Forchhammer has carefully compared the legal rules in the Wareru Code with those of Hindu *smṛtis*: *Manu*, *Yājñavalkya*, *Nārada*, *Kātyāyana*, and even of *dharmasūtras*. He quotes many of them, which may be found substantially the same in the Hindu codes. He shows a partial exaggeration when he concludes: "There are indeed very few passages in the Wageru which are not clearly and distinctly Hindu law as contained in *Manu* and other ancient Codes."¹ It cannot be denied, however, that the Wareru Code is related to the *dharmasūtras*, especially to the two versions of *Manu*, the *Manusmṛti* and the *Nārada-smṛti*. This kinship is plainly shown, not only by the same division of the judicial matter into 18 branches, but also by the numerous similarities and corresponding points. On many respects, the Wareru Code looks as an epitome of Hindu Law.

Besides, Forchhammer rightly points out the almost complete absence in the Wareru Code of any religious feature. First, hardly a trace of brahmanical element is visible. "The Wageru mentions neither *Brahma*, nor the *Vedas*, nor the sacrificial fire nor any point denoting influence of the Brahmins and of civil and religious institutions peculiar to Brahmanical India."² He might have observed that this difference from Hindu *sūtras* is due to the fact that, of the three great parts of *dharmasūtras* namely: *ācāra*, *vyavahāra* and *prāyaścitta*, Wareru, as *Nārada*, deals only with the second one, which, even in Hindu *smṛtis*, is

¹ DR. E. FORCHHAMMER, *The Jardine prize*, p. 58.

² *Ibid.*, p. 58.

already nearly free from religious influence. It is, nevertheless, remarkable that the author of the Wareru Code, or rather of the original Manudhammasattham, did not attempt to substitute for the two other parts, viz. Holy custom and penances, of the *sūstras*, corresponding rules of the Buddhist Canon. Moreover, the Buddhist element, as Forchhammer also noticed, is almost completely absent from this *dhammasattham* which begins with a prayer to the Three Jewels. No provision in it is founded upon a Buddha dictum, or claims authority from the Buddhist Dharma, the Good Law. Forchhammer is even wrong, I think, when he explains by a Buddhist tenet the almost total absence of corporal punishment in the provisions of the Wareru. This affirmation is only partially true. Corporal punishment, although rare, is however not so unfrequent as Forchhammer suggests. It is, nevertheless, true that even serious offences as murder are punished only by fines. But this point, far from showing a direct influence of the Buddhist repugnancy to corporal punishment and especially to death penalty, rather seems to appear as the expression of a still primitive law, of a stage of civilisation in which every kind of offence is regarded as a private affair, the sanction of which is, as a rule, a sum of money payable to the injured party. But, be that as it may, the Wareru Code, as Forchhammer says, is undoubtedly a mere civil or lay code. The brahmanical atmosphere is lacking on one side, and on the other, the Buddhist influence is also absent. The Buddhist faith professed by its author left just a stamp of approval.

What is the origin of the Manudhammasattham on which the Wareru Code is based? Forchhammer notices that the Pali quotations recorded in it are not mere translations of the corresponding passages of the Hindu codes. The author often uses a terminology of his own. If he admits Manu's 18 types of lawsuits, which he calls *mūla*, roots, and not *mārga* (in order perhaps to avoid a confusion with Buddhist terminology, i. e. with the *ariya aṭṭhangika magga*), he does not feel himself bound to follow Manu's order in disposing of the judicial matter, and the names he gives to them are not always mere transcriptions in Pali of the Sanskrit technical terms. From such remarks, Forchhammer concludes that the *dhammasattham* known to us through the Wareru Code is an origi-

nal, entirely distinct work, owing nothing to the *dharmaśāstras*. He explains the obvious kinship relating it to the latter with the idea that its author has utilized the same sources as the authors of *smṛtis*, i. e. Hindu custom before the triumph of neobrahmanism. He unhesitatingly finds out in the provisions of the Wareru Code a reflection of the political and social conditions as existing in India "when Buddhism was prevailing throughout the Peninsula". "It would be strange," he says, "if Buddhist India, which cultivated every branch of learning, developed the mightiest and most extensive native empires, and covered the land with architectures of wonderful and stupendous magnitude, should have left us no record of its civil institutions"¹. So he assumes that the Wareru Code is a remnant of Buddhist civil codes which emanated from a Buddhist Mānava school in India, more closely related to the original teaching than the subsequent brahmanical codes. However, as one would be surprised that such a work would have remained totally unknown to the great commentators of the Buddhist Canon, such as Buddhaghosa, Dhammapāla, Vajrabuddha and Buddhadatta, he is compelled, when he tries to assign it a date, to go back at least to the VIIIth century of our era. "Further researches," he says, "will probably fix the seventh, eighth and ninth centuries as the period of the rise and development of the Buddhist law of Manu"². Hindu colonies settled in Pegu were governed by that law. Codes came to them from Ceylon, or more probably Kāñci, because of the cultural role of this port, and of the early relations established between the Dekkan and Pegu. The natives of Pegu, viz. the Mons, became acquainted with them. Their monasteries were the depositories of learning; Dhammavilāsa, and a century later the priest whom Wareru consulted had only to search their libraries to find out the code which the country needed.

Forchhammer's ingenious hypothesis must be carefully considered, for, if it is justified or has only some chance to be true, the Wareru Code will become an important work for the history of Hindu law. But, though it has been accepted with slight

¹ DR. E. FORCHHAMMER, *op. cit.*, p. 38.

² *Ibid.*, p. 63.

restrictions by Julius Jolly (HINDU LAW AND CUSTOM, Calcutta, p. 91-93), and outlined by M. H. Bode as "an interesting conjecture" (THE PALI LITERATURE OF BURMA, p. 86), it seems extremely weak and most unlikely. It is unnecessary to insist upon the improbability of the existence of a Buddhist Mānava school whose traditions would have survived till the VIIth or IXth century of our era. Leaving aside the still disputed question of the existence of a Mānava Dharmasūtra prior to the Code of Manu, those who, following Bühler, relate the Manusmṛti to an old Mānava school have in mind a *carana*, a Vedic school connected with a *samhitā* of the Black Yajurveda. Such a school has nothing to do with Buddhism. Besides, even if the writing of the Manudhammasattham is put back to the VII-IXth centuries, the complete silence of late pali literature cannot fail to excite surprise, if such a work is really of a general, not local, nature. Since Forchhammer has published his book, no *dharmasattham* has ever been found, not only in India, but even in Ceylon. The very word, with the meaning of a lawbook special to Buddhist nations, is unknown to Pali lexicons. All the *dharmasatthams* we know come from Pegu or Burma. Such is the case for the *dharmasattham* prefacing the Siamese code compiled in 1805 A. D. from old materials: its introductory stanzas declare it was first written in Rāmaññadeśa, viz. in Mon country. All these facts speak in favour of a purely local origin of the *dharmasattham* literature.

Moreover, a good deal of naivety, -or of boldness,- is needed to see in the provisions of the Wareru Code, a reflection of the social conditions as existing in India at Asoka's time or even in the VII-IXth centuries. The code is clear and well arranged. But its rules are expressed in sharp sentences without any nuances. It is true they show no conflict of opinions, as smṛtis do. But they also know nothing of the smṛtis' elaborate discriminations. They are Hindu law, but reduced to a collection of elementary rules judiciously selected so as to be easily understood and used by uninformed judges, unacquainted with the subtleties of Indian dialectics. Compared with the smṛtis, the Wareru Code is in a somewhat similar position to that of the Sentences of Paul with respect to the genuine works of the great

Roman jurist. Besides, this code is not wholly Indian, and the parts of it which are not Indian clearly betray a still low stage of civilization. It has already been mentioned that criminal offences are expiated by way of pecuniary compensations. Many other provisions show that the Wareru Code was composed for a population the customs of which were still primitive and in any case greatly different from those of India. Marriage may be dissolved very easily, by mutual agreement or even by the will of either party. Remarriage of women is allowed unreservedly without any prejudice being shown against it. Property relations between husband and wife are governed by rules entirely different from Hindu law, both parties having coparcenary rights to the common property. It is impossible to see in this book anything else than a Mon code, written by Mons for the use of Mons.

Then, the composition of the *Manudhammasattham* and of similar works which may have appeared previously can easily be accounted for. The Hindu colonies who had settled in Rāmaññadeśa had continued to be subjected to their own laws. Their brahmans administered justice and decided cases according to the rules of *dharmasāstras*. When Buddhism became the prevalent religion among them, nothing was changed with regard to the condition of laymen: They continued to be subjected to the secular law, viz. the law of Manu. Buddhist communities enjoyed more freedom and security, and were able to live without hindrance according to Vinaya rules. As time went on Hindu influence was felt more and more among the native, Mon population. They were hitherto governed by their own custom, which a long contact with Hindu civilization had probably improved, but they had no written law. This state of things must have lasted a great extent of time, and it is most likely that, in conformity with the Burmese traditions, the first *dhammasattham* was composed at Pagan, during the period when a local Pali literature came into existence, i. e. after King Anawratha's reign. Then, as in Java during Airlangga's reign or the Majapahit Empire, the Mon Burmese population having been long Hinduized, wanted to have their own code of laws

The need was felt more acutely since the whole population professed only Hinayanism, and had no reason to accept the teaching of the *dharmasūtras*, the authority of which is based upon the Vedas. The Hindu colonies had for a long time mingled with the native population. The Mon priests who were entrusted with the task of preparing a code of laws did not unearth a *Manudhammasattham* that came of yore from India or Ceylon. They worked it out fully, taking of course for their model the brahmanical codes or, more probably, some treatise in use in the Dekkan which had been introduced by the Hindu immigrants, and was perhaps still referred to by the judges of their time. For, the *vyavahāra*, that part of the brahmanical codes which deals especially with the disposal of lawsuits, is substantially a technical handbook, unrelated to the brahmanical speculations about *dharma*, and it is from this part alone, as has been mentioned, that the authors of the Wareru Code have borrowed materials. Their task of "debrahmanising" Hindu codes did not therefore encounter great difficulty. It was facilitated by the work already accomplished by the Hindus themselves in that branch of teaching which, with the *Nārada-smṛiti*, had separated from the two other parts, purely religious, of the *dharmasūtras*. They have only achieved this work of laicizing. They have left out the rules which could not agree with the established usages of their country. They substituted instead of them rules taken from their custom. They have effected a work of adaptation that is undoubtedly worthy of praise, and which even often shows a keen understanding of law, but which was not beyond the powers of learned monks, gifted with a legal sense.

The lack of Buddhist influence in the *Manudhammasattham*, its neutral character, may then be easily explained: The sources from which its authors drew their materials were not Buddhist, except in the rare instances when native custom had been influenced by Buddhist morals. One may be surprised that they did not make use of the Buddhist Scriptures in which they were surely conversant. The probable reason is that the Buddha's teachings do not contain specific legal rules for the lay devotees. Of course it is possible to infer from them principles and rules of

conduct susceptible of being embodied in the form of legal precepts. But these are to be found scattered in the whole mass of canonical books and commentaries; they are nowhere written in a methodical matter. They cover but a small part of the sphere of law. It will take a long time before Buddhist law-givers realize that they may profit from them. Moreover, it is likely that the authors of the *Manudhammasattham* considered the law of Manu as the law still applying to laity, and they did not think of using other sources than *dharmaśāstras*.

But, as soon as their task had been completed, they were faced with a very difficult problem. In composing their *dhammasattham*, they had evidently intended to substitute for the brahmanical codes a work carrying the same weight, and able to fulfil in the Mon-Burmese society the same purpose as the brahmanical codes had done in India. But in India the brahmanical codes were authoritative because they were regarded as a part of the *Smṛti*, the Sacred Tradition. They proclaimed the Transcending Law as it had been taught by Brahma, the Self-Existent Being, to Manu, by whom it was subsequently revealed to Holy Rsis in order that they might proclaim it in their turn and instruct men about their duties. It was to this divine revelation and to this sacred Tradition that the precepts of the *dharmaśāstras* owed their everlasting power over men. What authority could these precepts claim, once they were isolated from their brahmanical surroundings, severed from their religious foundations? As they were not taken from the Buddhist Scriptures, they could not rely upon the authority of Buddha's teaching. The forging of an apocryph sutta appeared probably too audacious a means for our monks. Moreover, they were surely anxious to adhere to the name of Manu, which was too closely connected in all the Indian world with the revelation of law to be put aside without detrimental effect. Unfortunately Manu is hardly referred to in the Pali literature. But, in such circumstances, our authors have proved themselves very clever, at least with regard to the level of culture and to the degree of credulousness of the people for the sake of whom they were working.

The Buddhist Scriptures have their own Genesis. They relate that at the beginning of the world, men lived peacefully without

a ruler. But in course of time, this harmonious union of the Golden Age was broken. Theft appeared with individual property. Covetousness and all sorts of sins grew in the hearts of man. Innumerable and endless contentions rose up among them. To put an end to disorder, the inhabitants of the world agreed to give themselves a king, and to leave him a share of their harvest in order to enable him to perform his duties. They chose one among themselves, who was called Mahāsammata (The Great Elect), because he had been appointed by the common assent of all. This king happened to be a future Buddha. He naturally governed the world wisely, and was the founder of the Solar dynasty. Buddhist Scriptures tell nothing more. The authors of our *dharmasattham* availed themselves of this story. After a brief record of it, the preamble to which I have alluded, continues asserting that King Mahāsammata had as a councillor a ṛṣi called Manu, well versed in the art of administering justice. At the request of the king, Manu, who, as a ṛṣi, was endowed with supernatural powers, rose one day into the expanse of heaven. He arrived at the Cakkavāla, the mountainous wall which surrounds the world, according to Buddhist cosmology. And there he saw all the legal precepts carved in letters the size of a full grown cow. He committed them to memory and, having returned, communicated them to King Mahāsammata. Such is the marvellous origin of the prescriptions contained in the *dharmasattham*.

The success this childish tale met in Burma, Siam and Cambodia, where it prefaces all codes of laws, affords sufficient proof that our religious authors were good psychologists. But we should not be giving them their just dues if we thought they had imagined that story only with a view of embellishing their work with attractive additions. Their aim was to uphold in Buddhist world the notion of a Law superior to customary rules as well as to commands of kings, i. e. to maintain the Indian conception of Dharma as it was taught in the *dharmaśāstras*. The story of Manu the ṛṣi has then a far reaching meaning, and its success ought to be considered as a very remarkable achievement for the further development of law in Buddhist Indochina. It will ascribe to the prescription of the *dharmasattham* the same transcending nature as those of the *smṛtis*, though they do not come from the

mouth of a divine being or of an inspired Vedic ṛṣi. They will express the eternal order of the world, to which even a king like Mahāsammata, a future Buddha, must submit himself if he wish to perform his royal duties accurately. *Dhammasatthams*, therefore, will bring to the nations of Indochina, as *dharmasūtras* did to the peoples of India, more than a mere code of laws. In societies still primitive, in way of transformation, which it might have been dangerous to lock up in their actual customs, they will constitute a kind of ideal legislation, which wise rulers will be able to accommodate with the fluctuating necessities of time and place. In brief, it is the Hindu system of law that is introduced, thanks to a clever addition to an old legend, among peoples who, because of their beliefs and morals, will become more and more foreign to India proper.

WAS THE BHAGAVAD-GĪTĀ KNOWN TO MEGASTHENES ? *

BY

S. K. DIKSHIT

Megasthenes, the first important traveller, that visited India in historical times, and wrote a somewhat detailed account of her peoples or tribes, their manners and customs, states and polity, etc., also gave an interesting account of the philosophers (— or the Sophists, as he calls them), and the philosophy, he actually acquainted himself with during his stay at the Mauryan court and elsewhere in India. He looks upon the Sophists of India as forming a separate caste, “in point of number ... inferior to the other castes, but in point of dignity pre-eminent over all.¹” Megasthenes mentions two kinds of philosophers, the Brachmanes or Brachhmanes (Brāhmaṇas) and the Sarmanes (Śramaṇas). Of these two groups, the former were, in his opinion, more highly honoured, “for they are more consistent in their opinions.²” Elsewhere he includes them among the “learned men of the country.³” It is, therefore, quite natural to find that he acquaints himself primarily with the philosophy of the Brāhmaṇas, rather than with that of any other Indian philosophers of his days, such as the ‘Śramaṇas,’ etc. Be that as it may, it is to be noted that when Megasthenes speaks of how the ‘Sophists’ guided the intellectual and spiritual life of the society, he generally appears to have before his mind, the Brāhmaṇical priests or philosophers, as will be clear from the following quotations:—

(1) “From the time of their conception in the womb, they are under the guardian care of learned men, who go to their mothers and under the pretence of using some incantations for the welfare of herself and her unborn babe, in reality give her prudent hints and counsels. The women, who listen most will-

* This article is an appendix in our work, *The Nandas and the Mauryas*, submitted as a thesis for the D. Litt. degree of the University of Calcutta.

¹ McCrindle, *India, as described by Megasthenes and Arrian*, p. 38 f.; 214 f.

² *Ibid.*, p. 97.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 57.

ingly are thought to be the most fortunate in their children. After their birth, the children are under the care of one person after another, and as they advance in age each succeeding master is more accomplished than his predecessor¹."

It may be remembered that the Kauṭīliya Arthaśāstra alludes to the duties of the Rtvijis, the Kaumāra-bhṛtyas, and the Purohitas at the time of the gestation, child-birth, and early childhood respectively, of the off-spring of the royal family².

(2) "They are, however, engaged by private persons to offer the sacrifices due in life-time, and to celebrate the obsequies of the dead; for they are believed to be most dear to the gods, and to be the most conversant with matters pertaining to the Hades. In requital of such services they receive valuable gifts and privileges³."

Showing private persons the "proper mode" of offering sacrifices to the gods,—or rather, serving as priests at others' sacrifices (i. e., yājana) and receiving gifts were the special privileges of the Brāhmaṇas, according to the Kauṭīliya Artha-śāstra, as well as according to a number of other Brāhmanical texts.⁴

(3) "To the people of India at large they also render great benefits, when, gathered together at the beginning of the year, they forewarn the assembled multitudes about droughts and wet weather, and also about propitious winds, and diseases, and other topics capable of profiting the hearers. Thus the people and the

¹ Ibid, p. 97 f.

² Kauṭīliya Artha-śāstra, I. 17 (= Translation of K. A. by R. Shama Sastri, p. 38):—

“तस्मादतुमन्यां महिष्यां ऋत्विजश्चरुमैन्द्राबार्हस्पत्यं निर्वपेयुः ।
आपन्नसत्त्वायां कौमारभृत्यो गर्भभर्मणि प्रजनने च विद्येत ॥”

³ McCrindle, *Megasthenes and Arrian*, p. 215.

⁴ Cf. Kauṭīliya Artha-śāstra, I. 3:—

“स्वधर्मो ब्राह्मणस्याध्ययनं अध्यापनं यजनं याजनं दानं प्रतिग्रहश्चेति ॥”

Compare Manu., X. 75:—

“अध्यापनमध्ययनं यजनं याजनं तथा ।
दानं प्रतिग्रहश्चैव षट्कर्मण्यग्रजन्मनः ॥”

It is because of these six duties, that a Brāhmaṇa is called “Ṣaṭ-karma”. See Amara-kośa, II, Brāhma-varṇa, št. 4.

sovereign learning beforehand what is to happen, always make adequate provision against a coming deficiency and never fail to prepare beforehand what will help in a time of need. The philosopher, who errs in his predictions incurs no other penalty than obloquy, and he then observes silence for the rest of his life¹."

(a) With this may be compared the following passage from the Kautīliya, which refers to the royal astrologer-priest of the Brāhmaṇa caste :- "Him, whose family and character are highly spoken of, who is well-educated in the Vedas and the six Aṅgas, is skilful, in reading portents providential or accidental, is well-versed in the science of government, and who is obedient and who can prevent calamities, providential or human, by performing such expiatory rites as are prescribed in the Atharva-veda, the king shall employ as high priest. As a student his teacher, a son his father, and a servant his master the king shall follow him²."

(b) In another passage of the Kautīliya Artha-sāstra, we find certain instructions given as regards prophecies about rain-fall, etc. "A fore-cast of such rainfall can be made by observing the position, motion and pregnancy (garbhādhāna) of Jupiter (Brhaspati), the rise and set and motion of Venus, and natural or unnatural aspect of the Sun³."

(c) As regards making "adequate provision against a coming deficiency," referred to by Megasthenes, we have tried to show elsewhere that this function was primarily assigned to the Koṣṭhāgārādhyakṣa. We find in addition a general rule in the Kautīliya, which lays it down that "of the store thus collected, half shall be kept in reserve to ward off the calamities of the

¹ McCrindle, *Megasthenes and Arrian*, p. 215 f.

² Translation of the Kauṭ Artha., p. 15; cf. Kauṭ. Artha., I. 19:—

"पुरोहितमुदितोदितकुशलं षडङ्गे वेदे दैवे निमित्ते दण्डनीत्यां चाभि-
विनितमापदां दैवमानुषीणां अथर्वभिरुपयैश्च प्रतिकर्तारं कुर्वीत । तमाचार्यं
शिष्यः, पितरं पुत्रः, श्रुत्यः स्वामिनमिव चानुवर्तेत ।"

³ Ibid., II. 24:—

"तस्य (वर्षस्य) उपलब्धिर्बहस्पतेः स्थानगमनगर्भाधानेभ्यः, शुक्रो-
दधास्तमयचारेभ्यः सूर्यस्य प्रकृतिवैकृताच्च ।"

people, and only the other half shall be used¹.” The purpose of noting these passages from the Kauṭīliya in this context is to show that as in a number of other instances, in the case of the description of the first and the most important caste or class, known to Megasthenes, these two supposedly contemporary works betray a deal of similarity²; i. e. that Megasthenes depended for his information on persons and sources, that he took to be more reliable, e. g., the Brāhmaṇa priests, that he met in the court, and the most important Brāhmaṇa works on polity and philosophy, that were in vogue in his days.

Quotation No. (2) above speaks of the Brāhmaṇa and also, perhaps, of the Śramaṇa philosophers as being “the most conversant with matters pertaining to the Hades.” This implies that they had certain fixed views not only about the dark underworld, into which an impious man was thrown after his death, but also probably about the heaven, to which a pious man was lifted. In brief, they had a philosophy about life, and death, or life after death. In this brief essay, we shall chiefly notice the impressions, gathered by an intelligent and well-educated foreigner, the earliest one to visit India in historical times, viz., Megasthenes, about the philosophy of the Brahmanas, their ideas concerning life and death, or life after death, etc., — noting that until lately, hardly any other foreigner, save Al-Bīrūnī, has dealt with this question at any length.

Clement Alexander quotes the following as the very words of Megasthenes:— “All that has been said regarding nature by the ancients is asserted also by philosophers out of Greece, on the one part in India by the Brachmanes, and on the other in Syria by the people called the Jews.”³ Students of comparative philosophy will agree with this verdict of Megasthenes, when he points out the essential similarity between the philosophical systems of the pre-Aristotelian Greeks and those of the

¹ Trs. of Kauṭ. Artha., p. 101 = Kauṭ. Artha., II. 15:—

“ ततोऽर्धमापदर्थं जानयद्दानां स्थापयेत् ।

अर्धमुपयुञ्जीत नवेनानवं शोधयेत् । ’

² Vide our article in “Sahyādri” (Marathi magazine), May, 1947.

³ McCrindle, *Megasthenes and Arrian*, p. 103.

Brāhmaṇas, the Jews, etc. As a modern scholar has observed, "These early thinkers traced the origin of all things to a material basis and to material processes; yet it would not be right to describe them as materialists, because the hard and fast distinction between mind and matter was alien to their way of thinking. For, them, and for the Greeks generally, matter was something living. They were *hylozoists*, not materialists; they regarded all things as composed, not of dead inert matter, but of living substances."¹

Undifferentiated identity between *matter* and *mind* lies at the root of all pre-Aristotelian philosophy throughout the ancient world; and it continued to be so even in later Indian philosophy, Brāhmanical, Buddhist or Jain. The clearest expression of such an identity and the most perspicacious exposition of the ideas based on it, to be found in the Indian philosophy, is to be met with in the Brāhmanical texts, not the least famous of which, in this respect, is the Bhagavadgītā. The undifferentiated dualism of matter and mind is expressed in that and other texts by the concept of ultimate identity of matter and form, or the individual and the universal, or the real and the ideal, or Prakṛti and Puruṣa, or Acit and Cit, or Asat and Sat. According to all these philosophers of the ancient world, in India as well as outside India, "All matter is alive, and all living things have souls ... Thought is ascribed to all things without distinction."² A corollary of this was that *matter* was supposed to have no independent existence apart from *mind* (or soul), and was naturally considered to be without fundamental reality (or pāramārthika sattā), which was a characteristic only of the mind.

A psychological elucidation of this phenomenon is offered in the following by a modern authority:— "A principle, which cannot be perceived by the senses is ... invoked to explain the evolution of the cosmos; for mind is distinguished from material things by its characters of simplicity, freedom, omniscience and omnipotence. Just as hylozoism (the conception of the all-pervading life of matter) was projection of unanalysed personal

¹ *An Outline of Modern Knowledge*, p. 6.

² *Ibid.*, p. 308.

consciousness upon objects of the external world, so here spirit or reason, experienced in personal thinking, planning and willing, is a projection upon the universe.¹” An objection may, however, be raised to this inference, based merely on psychological considerations; since this “hylozoism” is found to exist in India long after the Indian philosophers had learnt to analyze personal consciousness, and especially since this may be only putting the cart before the horse.

The character of this common philosophical heritage of the ancient world is, however, explained quite ably by the same modern authority as follows:— “A group of thinkers, beginning with the postulate that Being *is*, and not-Being can neither exist nor be conceived to exist,² came to the conclusion that Being is one,—unproduced, unchangeable, and undivided. This fundamental doctrine of the absolute unity and immutability of Being acutely raised the problem of the distinction between reason and sense, threw doubt upon the validity of the sense-perception of the external world....The doubts thus cast by all the schools alike upon the validity of sense-perception deepened in the scepticism of the Sophists.”³ From this, it would be perfectly clear that the Sophists, that Megasthenes was conversant with in his own country, did not differ in any material or fundamental respect from the Brāhmanical and Buddhist philosophers, in respect of their philosophical outlook towards the universe. It is, therefore, quite natural to find Megasthenes calling the Brāhmaṇas and the Śramaṇas the Sophists of India.

About the Brāhmaṇas, Megasthenes observes that “Their ideas about physical phenomena.....are very crude, for they are better in their actions than in their reasonings inasmuch as their belief is in great measures based upon fables; yet on many points, their opinions coincide with those of the Greeks, for like them they say that the world had a beginning, and is liable to

¹ Ibid.

² Cf. Gītā, II. 16:—

नासतो विद्यते भावो नाभावो विद्यते सतः ॥

³ *An Outline of Modern Knowledge*, p. 309.

destruction,¹ and is in shape spherical,² and that the Deity who made it and who governs it, is diffused through all its parts.³ They hold that various first principles operate in the universe, and that water was the principle employed in the making of the world.⁴ In addition to the four elements there is a fifth agency, from which the heaven and the stars were produced.⁵ The earth is placed in the centre of the universe. Concerning generation, and the nature of the soul and many other subjects, they express views like those maintained by the Greeks. They wrap up their doctrines about immortality and future judgment and kindred topics in allegories, after the manner of Plato.”⁶

While the doctrine propounded here is to be met with in such early philosophical treatises as the Bhagavad-gītā, the Upani-

¹ Cf. Gītā, II, 27 :—

“जातस्य हि ध्रुवो मृत्युः etc. ॥”

Also *ibid.*, XV. 16; etc.

² Cf. Brahmanḍa, jagad-aṇḍa, and other expressions. Also R̥gveda, X. 72. 8 f. :—

“देवा उप प्रैत् सप्तभिः परा मार्ताण्डमाश्वात् ।

.....प्रजायै मृत्यवे त्वत् पुनर्मार्ताण्डमाभरत् ॥”

³ Cf. Gītā, VII. 7 :—

“मत्तः परतरं नान्यत्किंचिदस्मि धनंजय ।

मयि सर्वमिदं प्रोतं सूत्रे मणिगणा इव ॥”

Ibid., IX. 4 :—

“मया ततमिदं सर्वं जगद्व्यक्तमूर्तिना ।”

Ibid., VIII. 22 :—

“पुरुषः स परः पार्थ.... ।

यस्यान्तःस्थानि भूतानि येन सर्वमिदं ततम् ॥”

Śvetāśvatara Up., IV. 10 :—

“मायां तु प्रकृतिं विद्यान्मायिनं तु महेश्वरम् ।

तस्यावयवभूतैस्तु व्याप्तं सर्वमिदं जगत् ॥”

⁴ Vide *The Mother Goddess* (Poona, 1943), Preface, p. 14 f., where the present author has dealt with the question of the four or five elements of early mythology; also vide the index to that work, with reference to the words “Āpas”, Revatī, etc.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 17.

⁶ McCrindle, *Megasthenes and Arrian*, p. 100 f.

ads, etc., it must be admitted that this passage does not reveal anything distinctive, of the philosophical notions, to be found therein. Nonetheless, the passage appears to supply a clue, inasmuch as it speaks of "allegories," which is a peculiar feature of the Upaniṣads and the Bhagavad-gītā. Some such allegories, it is curious to note, are to be found in the encounter of Alexander and Dandamis or Mandanis (? = Dāṇḍāyanis), the story of which is narrated by Megasthenes himself. What is more, some of these allegories as well as much of the philosophy that Megasthenes attributes to the Brachmanes (or Brāhmanas) is to be met with in the famous philosophical work of antiquity, to be found in the Mahābhārata, viz., the Bhagavad-gītā, rather than anywhere else. Therefore, while dealing with the account of the Brāhmanical philosophy, known to Megasthenes, we propose mainly to bring out the similarity that is betrayed by the philosophy of that work. Although such a type of evidence can never be looked upon as conclusive, or even very much convincing, this similarity is so much deep-rooted, that it makes us inclined to believe that that work must be dated to a period anterior to that of Megasthenes. At any rate, certain important philosophical tenets found in that work, appear to have become already quite popular in those days,—so that even foreigners had become acquainted with them.

Dandamis sent the following word to Alexander, when the latter had asked him to come to him on penalty of death :—
 "Should Alexander cut off my head, he cannot destroy my soul. My head alone, now silent, will remain, but the soul will go away to its Master, leaving the body like a torn garment upon the earth, whence also it was taken¹." Comparable with this are certain famous verses in the Bhagavad-gītā, which tell us that the soul is not killed by any arms², that it leaves one body after

¹ McCrindle, Megasthenes and Arrian, p. 126; cf. page 129.

² Ibid., II. 23 f. :—

“ नैनं छिन्दन्ति शस्त्राणि नैनं दहति पावकः ।
 न चैनं क्लेदयन्त्यापो न शोषयति मारुतः ॥
 अच्छेद्योऽयमदाहोऽयमक्लेयोऽशोष्य एव च । ”

Ibid., II. 30 :—

“ देही नित्यमवध्योऽयं देहे सर्वस्य भारत ॥ ”

another like torn garments, and enters new bodies, as one would put on new clothes,¹ and that after a correct realization of the realities about God, soul and the world, etc., it merges into the Eternal, Indestructible, Immutable Soul, that is God². Incidentally, in support of our view about the date of the text of the Bhagavad-gītā, we may briefly note a point of similarity that, we feel, is observable in a passage in the Bhagavad-gītā and another found in the Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali. After having referred to the "guṇas" (of Prakṛti), and enumerated them, — as they are found in most of the Sāṃkhya works, as well as the Bhagavad-gītā, — the Mahābhāṣya proceeds to tell us that none indeed remains "self-contained" even for a moment³. This

¹ Ibid., II. 22 :—

“वासांसि जीर्णानि यथा विहाय नवानि गृह्णाति नरोऽपराणि ।
तथा शरीराणि विहाय जीर्णान्यन्यानि संयाति नवानि देही ॥”

² Bhagavad-gītā, II. 29 f. :—

“य एनं वेत्ति हन्तारं यश्चैनं मन्यते हतम् ।
उभौ तौ न विजानीतो नायं हन्ति न हन्यते ॥
न जायते म्रियते वा कदाचिन्नायं भूत्वा भविता वा न भूयः ।
अजो नित्यः शाश्वतोऽयं पुराणो न हन्यते हन्यमाने शरीरे ॥”

Of. Kaṭha Up., I. ii. 18 f. :—

“न जायते म्रियते वा विपश्चिन्नायं कुतश्चिन्न बभूव कश्चित् ।
अजो नित्यः शाश्वतोऽयं पुराणो न हन्यते हन्यमाने शरीरे ॥
हन्ता चेन्मन्यते हन्तुं हतश्चेन्मन्यते हतम् ।
उभौ तौ न विजानीतो नायं हन्ति न हन्यते ॥”

Gītā, II. 24 :—

“अच्छेदोऽयं नित्यः सर्वगतः स्थाणुरचलोऽयं सनातनः ।”

Ibid., X. 20 :—

“अहमात्मा गुडाकेश ! सर्वभूताशयस्थितः ॥”

Ibid., VIII. 15 :—

“मामुपेत्य पुनर्जन्त ... नाप्नुवन्ति महात्मनः ।”

Of. Śvetāśvatara Up., VI. 13 :—

“नित्यो नित्यानां चेतनश्चेतनानामेको बहूनां यो विदधाति कामान् ।”

³ Mahābhāṣya, II. p. 198 :—

“गुणानाम् । केषाम् । शब्दस्पर्शरूपरसगन्धानाम् । सर्वाश्च पुनर्मूर्तय एवात्मिकाः संस्त्यानाप्रसवगुणाः शब्दस्पर्शरूपरसगन्धवत्यः । ... प्रवृत्तिः सत्त्ववि नित्या । न हीह कश्चित् स्वस्मिन्नात्मनि मुहूर्तमप्यवतिष्ठति । वर्धते वा यावदनेन वर्धितव्यम् ... ।”

passage can be adequately compared with the one in the Bhagavad-gītā, that tells that none, indeed, can remain for a moment without carrying on any action, and that one is helplessly compelled to act (or impelled towards action) by the "guṇas" born of Prakṛti¹. Be that as it may, the Mahābhāṣya contains some other passages, which too betray an acquaintance with the philosophy of the Sāṃkhya in general, and also in some measure that of the Bhagavad-gītā in particular, — a fact, that is already noticed by some scholars including Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, etc.

Another important extract, to be found in Megasthenes, about the Brāhmaṇical philosophy of his time, is given by Strabo (XV. i. 59) :— "Death is with them (= the Brachmanes) a frequent subject of discourse. They regard this life, as, so to speak, the time when the child within the womb becomes mature, and death as a birth into a real and happy life for the votaries of philosophy. On this account, they undergo much discipline as a preparation for death. They consider nothing that befalls men to be either good or bad, to suppose otherwise being a dream-like illusion, ..."² Although exact parallels can scarcely be adduced for any of these sentences, the theme, underlying them, is the same as that, which we find to be the foundation of the philosophy of Karmayoga, propounded in the Bhagavad-gītā, with its emphasis on equanimity with which all worldly happenings should be viewed, on Avyakta being the Everlasting and hence the Real, on all life coming out of Avyakta and again passing into it, on this human life being a great opportunity for acquiring merit and for preparing for a much happier and richer life after death, on everything in this life being filled with "māyā" or a dream-like illusion, and on death itself being consequently no matter of sorrow³. Dandamis (? Dāṇḍāyanis) is, indeed, repre-

¹ Gītā, III. 51 :—

“ न हि कश्चित्क्षणमपि जातु तिष्ठत्यकर्मकृत् ।
कार्यते स्वयशः कर्म सर्वः प्रकृतिजैर्गुणैः ॥ ”

² McCrindle, *Megasthenes and Arrian*, p. 100.

³ Gītā, II. 11 :—

“ गतासूनगतासूश्च नानुशोचन्ति पण्डिताः । ”

Ibid., II. 13 f.

“ देहिनोऽस्मिन् यथा देहे कौमारं यौवनं जरा ।

(continued on the next page)

sented to have said, that " if he died, he would be delivered from the body of flesh now afflicted with age, and would be translated to a better and purer life. "'

The principle of equanimity, underlying the philosophy of Karmayoga, is also apparent in the following words, attributed to Dandamis :— " Let Alexander, then, terrify with these threats to those, who wish for gold and for wealth, and who dread death, for against us these weapons are both alike powerless, since

(continued from the previous page)

तथा देहान्तरप्राप्तिर्धीरस्तत्र न मुह्यति ॥
मात्रास्पर्शास्तु कौन्तेय शीतोष्णसुखदुःखदाः ।
आगमापायिनोऽनित्यास्तांस्तितिक्षस्व भारत ।
... अन्तवन्त इमे देहा नित्यस्योक्ता शरीरिणः ।
अनाशिनोऽप्रमेयस्य तस्माद्युध्यस्व भारत ॥ ... "

Ibid., II, 27 f. :—

" जातस्य हि ध्रुवो मृत्युर्ध्रुवं जन्म मृतस्य च ।
... अव्यक्तादीनि भूतानि व्यक्तमध्यानि भारत ।
अव्यक्तनिधनान्येव तत्र का परिदेवना ॥ "

Ibid., VIII, 18 f. :—

" अव्यक्ताद्व्यक्तयः सर्वाः प्रभवन्त्यह्वागमे ।
रात्र्यागमे प्रलीयन्ते तत्रैवाव्यक्तसंज्ञके ॥
भूतग्रामः स एवायं भूत्वा भूत्वा प्रलीयते । "

Ibid., II, 38 :—

" सुखदुःखे समे कृत्वा लाभालाभौ जयाजयौ ।
ततो युद्धाय युज्यस्व ... ॥ "

Ibid., II, 56 f. :—

" दुःखेष्वनुद्विगमनाः सुखेषु विगतस्पृहः ।
वीतरागभयक्रोधः स्थितधीर्मुनिरुच्यते ॥
यः सर्वज्ञानभिन्नेहस्तत्तत्प्राप्य शुभाशुभम् ॥
नाभिनन्दति न द्वेष्टि तस्य प्रज्ञा प्रतिष्ठिता ॥ "

Ibid., IV, 22 :—

" यदृच्छालाभसंतुष्टो द्वन्द्वातीतो विमत्सरः ।
समः सिद्धावसिद्धौ च कृत्वापि न निबध्यते ॥ "

¹ McCrindle, *Megasthenes and Arrian*, p. 107; cf. page 116 f,

Bragmanes neither love gold nor fear death.”¹ There is still another passage, concerning Dandamis, which lays down some of the common ideas of Indian philosophy, that are frequently mentioned in the Bhagavad-gītā.² We have quoted below some of the

¹ Ibid., p. 126. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 129 ; also Gītā, IV. 8 :—

“ ज्ञानविज्ञानतृप्तात्मा कूटस्थो विजितेन्द्रियः ।

युक्त इत्युच्यते योगी समलोष्टाश्मकांचनः ॥ ”

² Gītā, II. 60 f. :—

“ यततो ह्यपि कौन्तेय पुरुषस्य विपश्चितः ।

इन्द्रियाणि प्रमाथीनि हरन्ति प्रसभं मनः ॥

तानि सर्वाणि संयम्य युक्त आसीत मत्परः ॥ ”

Ibid., II. 58 :—

“ यदा संहरते चायं कूर्मोङ्गानीव सर्वशः ।

इन्द्रियाणीन्द्रियार्थेभ्यस्तस्य प्रज्ञा प्रतिष्ठिता ॥ ”

Ibid., III. 34 :—

“ इन्द्रियस्योन्द्रियस्यार्थे रागद्वेषौ व्यवस्थितौ ।

तयोर्न वशमागच्छेत्तौ ह्यस्य परिपन्थिनौ ॥ ”

Ibid., III. 37 f. :—

“ काम एष क्रोध एष रजोगुणसंमुद्भवः ।

महाशनो महापाप्मा विद्ध्येनमिह वैरेणम् ॥

... इन्द्रियाणि मनोर्बुद्धिरस्याधिष्ठानमुच्यते । ”

Ibid., VI. 7 :—

“ जितात्मनः प्रशान्तस्य परमात्मा समाहितः ।

शतोष्णसुखदुःखेषु तथा मानापमानयोः ॥ ”

VII. 27 :—

“ इच्छाद्वेषसमुत्थेन द्वन्द्वमोहेन भारत ।

सर्वभूतानि संमोहं सर्गे यान्ति परन्तप ॥ ”

Ibid., XIII. 5 f. :—

“ इन्द्रियाणि दशैकं च पञ्च चेन्द्रियगोचराः ।

इच्छा द्वेषः सुखं दुःखं सङ्घातश्चेतना धृतिः ।

एतत्क्षेत्रं समासेन ... ॥ ”

Mbh., III. 21. 24 (quoted by Hopkins, *The Great Epic of India*, p. 35) :—

“ षण्णामात्मानि युक्तानामिन्द्रियाणां प्रमाथिनाम् ।

यो धीरे धारयेद्रश्मान्स स्यात्परमसाराधिः ॥

इन्द्रियाणां प्रसृष्टानां ह्यनानामिव वर्त्मस ॥ ”

passages in the latter work, which may be compared with the following from Megasthenes:—“There is war, the Brachhmans hold, in the body wherewith they are clothed, and they regard the body as being the fruitful source of wars, and, as we have already shown, fight against it like solders in battle contending against the enemy. They maintain, moreover, that all men are held in bondage, like prisoners of war, to their own innate enemies, the sensual appetites, gluttony, anger, joy, grief, longing, desire, and such like, while it is only the man who has triumphed over these enemies, who goes to God. Dandamis accordingly.....is spoken of by the Brachchmans as a god, because he conquered in the warfare against the body.....”¹

It must, however, be admitted that many of the conceptions given above were probably shared by the Bhagavad-gītā in common with a number of other works, belonging approximately to the same time, or even to an earlier date.² The afore-quoted passage contains ideas, that were held in common by followers of different schools of philosophy in India, even outside the Brāhmanical faith, e. g., by the Buddhists, who have often graphically described the Buddha's own fight with the enemies of the soul, with Māra and his daughters (Māra-senā). The foundations of Māyā-vāda, which the text of the Bhagavad-gītā shares in common with the Upaniṣads, and in fact, all earlier texts of the Brāhmanical faith, are also known (—this is shown by us elsewhere —) in a sense to have been common to Buddhist and other creeds of ancient India; but over these foundations, the author of the Bhagavad-gītā erected the superstructure of

¹ McCrindle, *Megasthenes and Arrian*, pp. 122-123.

² Maitrī Up., II. 6:—

“रथः शरीरं, मनो नियन्ता, प्रकृतिमयोऽस्य प्रतोदः ॥”

Kaṭha Up., (I), iii. 3-4:—

“आत्मानं रथिनं विद्धि शरीरं रथमेव तु ।

बुद्धिं तु सारथिं विद्धि मनः प्रग्रहमेव च ॥

इन्द्रियाणि ह्यानाहुर्विषयांस्तेषु गोचरात् ॥”

Cf. *ibid.*, (I), iii. 9:—

“विज्ञानसाराथिर्यस्तु मनः प्रग्रहवान्नरः ।

सोऽध्वनः पारमाप्रोति तद्विष्णोः परमं पदम् ॥”

Karmayoga, that is the chief peculiarity of that work. With reference to this peculiarity, it may be admitted that we have no direct proof of it being known to Megasthenes. Yet the numerous comparisons that we had adduced above make it quite possible that that text was known to the Brāhmaṇas of the time of Megasthenes. No other early work supplies us with such a number of comparable passages.

There is also another argument. The philosophy of the Bhagavad-gītā, in reality, harmonizes the apparently conflicting schools of Sāṃkhya, Yoga, Jñāna, Karma-sannyāsa and Bhakti (? = Bhāgavata) on the basis of their essential underlying unity. The author of that work goes to the very root of all these "systems", grasps the fundamental ideas about the almost evanescent Māyā-vāda, about Puruṣa and Prakṛti, the philosophy of "Yajña" or "sacrificial magic", etc. He utilises the fundamental ideas to show the essential oneness of all these systems, and provides for the contemporary world a theory of action, according to then existing social set-up of Cāturvarṇya and within the framework of that set-up. Neither he, nor Dandamis, had the slightest inclination to move outside that set-up or to upset it; and they had much more in common between themselves, than a modern mind is generally able to grasp,—despite the apparent conflict between the doctrine of "Karmayoga" and that of "Karma-sannyāsa", that they respectively appear to preach or to follow. If the philosophy of Dandamis betrays such a close resemblance in many respects, according to the account of Megasthenes, with the chief tenets of the Bhagavad-gītā and yet if it misses the most important peculiarity of that work embodied in the doctrine of "Karma-yoga", this cannot be regarded as a proof of the non-existence of the Bhagavad-gītā. We know how in later times, the protagonists of the philosophy of Karma-sannyāsa turned to their advantage the teaching of the Bhagavad-gītā, or utilized it for preaching their own doctrine, and it appears to us just possible that Dandamis was a forerunner of them.

¹ McCrindle, *Megasthenes and Arrian*, p. 122-123.

About the nature of God, the ideas of Dandamis and his contemporaries may be stated as follows :— “ God, the supreme king, is never the author of insolent wrong, but is the creator of light, of peace, of life ; of water, of the body of man, and of souls, and these he receives when death sets them free, being in no way subject to evil desire¹. ” Many of these ideas are found to be common in the Upaniṣads and the Bhagavad-gītā². We also learn from Megasthenes³ that “ They (the Indians) hold that God is light, but not such light as we see with the eye, nor such light as the sun or fire, but God is with them the Word,— by which term they do not mean articulate speech, but the discourse of reason, whereby the hidden mysteries of knowledge are discerned by the wise. This light, however, which they call the Word, and think to be God, is, they say, known only by the Brachhmans themselves, because they alone have discarded vanity, which is the outermost covering of the soul. ” Such ideas are to be found in some later Upaniṣads as well as in the Bhagavad-gītā and some other portions of the Mahābhārata,— as will be seen from some of the

¹ Ibid., p. 125.

² Brhad-āraṇyaka Up., II. 5. 14 f. :—

“ अयमात्मा सर्वेषां भूतानां मधु...यश्चायमात्मनि तेजोमयोऽमृतमयः
पुरुषोऽयमेव स योऽयमात्मेदममृतमिदं ब्रह्मेदं सर्वम् । स वा अयमात्मा सर्वेषां
भूतानामधिपतिः सर्वेषां भूतानां राजा ॥

Svetāśvatara Up., VI. 11 :—

“ कर्माध्यक्षः सर्वभूताधिवासः साक्षी चेता केवलो निर्गुणश्च ॥ ”

Gītā, IX. 18 :—

“ गतिर्मेतां प्रभुः साक्षी निवासः शरणं सुहृत् ।
प्रभवः प्रलय स्थानं निधानं बीजमव्ययम् ॥ ”

Ibid., IV. 14 :—

“ न मां कर्माणि लिम्पन्ति ॥ ”

Gītā, IX. 7 f. :—

“ सर्वभूतानि कौन्तेय प्रकृतिं यान्ति मामिकाम् ।
कल्पक्षये पुनस्तानि कल्पादौ विसृजाम्यहम् ॥
प्रकृतिं स्वामवष्टभ्य विसृजामि पुनः पुनः ।
भूतग्राममिमं कृत्स्नं अवशं प्रकृतेर्वशात् ॥ ...
मयाऽध्यक्षेण प्रकृतिः सृजते सचराचरम् । ”

³ McCrindle, *Megasthenes and Arrian*, p. 121.

quotations given below¹. It is also well-known that God is identified in Indian philosophy *inter alia*, with Śabda-brahman. Going beyond the limits of our studies in this essay, we can state that the idea of God being the source of all light, mental, moral, physical, etc., is common to all early religions, and that it is connected with the worship of the Sun or Fire in numerous lands and in different ages, — a subject, which we have dealt with in details in *The Mother Goddess*. We have also shown there that the god of light is often identified with Word, and that Om, which signifies the mystic name of the Sun-god, finds its parallels in “Amon” (of the Egyptians) and “Amen” (of the Holy Bible).

According to Megasthenes, the followers of the Brahmanical faith “adopt an independent life, and abstain from animal food and all victuals cooked by fire, being content to subsist upon fruits, which they do not so much as gather from the trees, but pick up when they have dropped to the ground².”

¹ Śvetāśvatara Up., IV, 18 :—

“यदा तमस्तत्र दिवा न रात्रिर्न सन्न चासच्छिव एव केवलः ।

तदक्षरं तत्सवितुर्वरेण्यं प्रज्ञा च तस्मात्प्रमृता पुराणी ॥ ”

Ibid., VI. 14 :—

“न तत्र सूर्यो भाति न चन्द्रतारकं नेमा विद्युतो भान्ति कुनोऽयमग्निः ।

तमेव भान्तमनुभाति सर्वं तस्य भासा सर्वमिदं विभाति ॥ ”

(Kāṭha Up., (II) V. 15).

Cf. Mbh., III. 134. 8 (quoted in Hopkins' *The Great Epic of India*, (1920), p. 29) :—

“एकः सूर्यः सर्वमिदं विभाति । ”

Māṇḍūkya Up., 8 :—

“सोऽयमात्माऽव्यक्षरमोङ्कारो... । ”

Kāṭha. Up., (I) ii. 15 f. :—

“तत्ते पदं सङ्ग्रहेण ब्रवीम्योमित्येतत् ॥

एतद्व्येवाक्षरं ब्रह्म हेतुदेवाक्षरं परम् ॥ ”

Gītā, VIII. 9 f. :—

“आदित्यवर्णं तमसः परस्तात् ।

ॐ इत्येकाक्षरं ब्रह्म व्याहरन्मामनुस्मरन् ॥ ”

Ibid., XI. 12 :—

“दिवि सूर्यसहस्रस्य भवेयुगपदुत्थिता ।

यदि भाः सदृशी सा स्याद् भासस्तस्य महात्मनः ॥ ”

Cf. Ibid., X. 25 ; V. 16 ; etc.

² McCrindle, *Megasthenes and Arrian*, p. 120 f. ; cf. p. 99.

Here we come across with an extreme solicitude for the principle of Ahimsā, reminding us incidentally also of Śakuntalā, who never, even for decoration's sake, plucked off any leaves, etc., of the trees in the *āśrama* (or hermitage) of the sage Kapva, because of the great affection she felt for those trees. This quotation from Megasthenes also makes it amply clear that Ahimsā was a recognized tenet at least among some of the Brāhmaṇas of the time of Megasthenes, and that it was not associated with the Buddhists alone. The value of this concept, already known in the Upaniṣads, is clearly emphasised in the Bhagavad-gītā.¹

On the whole it is quite possible to argue that Megasthenes was acquainted with a number of tenets, popularised by the Bhagavad-Gītā, that had gained currency already in his own days. It is difficult to explain otherwise the fact that the tenets of the Brahmanical philosophy spoken of by Megasthenes seem to be mostly found in that text, — as far, at any rate, as the available evidence goes. The argument is : — If we are to name only one text that betrays a close resemblance to the philosophical tenets found in Megasthenes' work, it is the Bhagavad-gītā; and if these two works betray such a close resemblance, we may not reject in a light-hearted mood the plausibility of the Bhagavad-gītā being familiar to Megasthenes. Further, Prof. V. K. Rajwade, while criticising the grammatical mistakes and solecisms in the Bhagavad-gītā, has already rendered an unwilling or at least an unintentional service to the cause of the vindication of the antiquity of the Bhagavad-gītā. He has proved to the hilt that the learned author of the Bhagavad-gītā does not follow very faithfully the grammatical usages, etc., laid down by Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī*. These mistakes and solecisms bespeak of a period, almost certainly anterior to that of Patañjali (c. 180 B. C.), before whose time the classical language

¹ Gītā, XVI. 2 :—

“ अहिंसा सत्यमक्रोधस्त्यागः शान्तिरपैशुनम् ।

दया भूतेष्वलोलुप्त्वं मार्दवं ह्रीरचापलम् ॥ ”

Ibid., X. 5 :—

“ अहिंसा समता दुष्टिस्तपो दानं यशोऽयशः ।

भवन्ति भावा भूतानां मत्त एव पृथग्विधाः ॥ ”

had been undergoing slight variations century after century, but by whose time, it had almost certainly become finally stabilised. May be, even though post-Pāṇinian, the author of the Bhagavad-gītā was not very far removed from his time (which we take to be about 450 to 400 B. C.), when the “bhāṣā” (or the classical language) of the time of Pāṇini had not yet become the “language of the gods” (= Gīrvāṇa-bhāṣā), i. e., totally fossilized with the grammatical framework. As has been shown above, the fact that there is no definite mention of the doctrine of “Karma-yoga” (the principal doctrine of the Bhagavad-gītā), in the available work of Megasthenes, does not bar out the otherwise plausible hypothesis that the Bhagavad-gītā itself was known to that intelligent foreigner, since we do not possess any complete text of that work, and since the available extracts from it were mostly intended to convey the substance of what he had said.

DATE OF KANIṢKA, 1356 B. C.

BY

D. S. TRIVEDA

The date of Kaniṣka has been a fruitful source of controversy among the students of Indology¹. The present writer's excuse lies in the fact that in his opinion the problem has not been dealt with from all possible points of view. The narrow outlook tacitly displayed by the scholars is not at all beyond question. All the theories are beset with serious difficulties and hence there is no reason why we should not look for another which would furnish a satisfactory explanation for all the known facts of the case. I propose to study afresh all the evidences with an unprejudiced mind and find out the most natural conclusion. I am prepared to accept it and risk all the consequences.

The Dynasty

Huviṣka, Vasīṣka and Kaniṣka call themselves Kuṣāṇas on their coins. According to Sten Konow the Kuṣāṇas were almost certainly Iranians. Both Kaniṣka and Azes are without any foundation in Indian tradition and simply based on general reasoning. Kalhana says that Huṣka, Juṣka and Kaniṣka were descended from the Turuṣka race. In the opinion of many scholars Kaniṣka belonged to the little Yuechi dynasty.

Coins

The royal figure on their coins has a dress similar to that on those of Wima Kadphises. But these three Kuṣāṇas seem to have struck an independent path for themselves in respect of their coins which may point to their constituting an independent family. There are numerous finds of coins where coins of Kaniṣka are found in company with those of Wima Kadphises and in at least three cases the large collections represent neither Huviṣka nor Vāsudeva nor Kadphises. They are at Ransi Bua Dih and

¹ I have taken much advantage of the debate in the Royal Asiatic Society, London, published in J. R. A. S. 1913.

Kalka. The finds are: coins of Zoilus, Gondopharnes, Kaniska, Huviska and Vāsudeva at Mathurā: large number of coins of Kadphises, Huviska and Kaniska found in Khaira Dih; about 500 Wima Kadphises and Kaniska at Ransi; Wima Kadphises and Kaniska around Bua Dih; 20 copper coins of Wima Kadphises, Kaniska, Huviska and Vāsudeva in Indore: Gold coins of Kaniska and Huviska found with gold of Domitian, Trajan and Sabina at Abin Posh hoard: Coins of Wima Kadphises, Kaniska, Huviska, Vāsudeva, also later ones, numerous around Śankisa; two of Wima Kadphises, one of Kaniska and one of Vāsudeva at Kanhiara; Manikyal tope of Kujula, Wima Kadphises and Kaniska; Find of 382 copper coins of Kadphises II with 40 copper coins of Kaniska on the Kalka-Kasauli Road in Patiala: Find of about 1,000 coins of Kadphises, Kaniska, Huviska and Vāsudeva at Peshawar.

Some numismatists place the Kādphises group chronologically before the Kaniska group whereas others endeavour to prove the opposite.

General Cunningham furnished the following weight of their coins.

19	dinars of	Wema	Kadphises	average	122.21	grains
21	"	"	Kaniska	"	122.19	"
118	"	"	Huviska	"	123.16	"
21	"	"	Vāsudeva	"	122.16	"

In another table he gave the weights of certain selected specimens and found that

2	of Wema	Kadphises	average	123.1	grains
11	"	Kaniska	"	123.1	"
25	"	Huviska	"	123.4	"
21	"	Vāsudeva	"	123.3	"

Some say that the weights of these coins followed a standard which was adopted at Rome from B. C. 46 onwards.

Kaniska uses the Greek language and Greek characters on his coins and he uses these alone. Greek was the *lingua franca* of trade in all the lands where the Greeks had settled east of the Euphrates. But his Greek is ungrammatical, whereas on the coins of Huviska and Vāsudeva Greek alphabets are used correctly.

Silk Trade

The silk trade which existed between China and Syria via Khotan, North West India, Kabul, and the head of the Persian Gulf accounts for the peculiarities which mark the coins of the Kaniska group. It explains: (1) Why Kaniska introduced the gold coinage which was a new feature in India; (2) Why the legends on the coins are only Greek, instead of being bilingual like those on the other Indian coins of the same early times; (3) Why these Greek legends are in cursive characters which were, again a new feature on Indian coins and (4) why a particular weight was adopted for these coins?

Silk reached India itself at an earlier time on the authority of the Arthaśāstra and no doubt it reached Parthia also. It is, therefore, not in the commerce itself that we must seek the explanation, if an extra-Indian explanation is needed, of the gold coinage of the Kuṣāṇas. Moreover, it is plain that the weight of these coins did not follow any such standard, but was adjusted to suit a ratio between gold and silver which prevailed in Western Asia before that time.

Gāndhāra Art

On the question of relationship of Kaniska to Gāndhāra art opinion is sharply divided. V. A. Smith says that the Gāndhāra school attained its highest development during the reign of Kaniska. Vogel and Spooner, on the other hand, say: It is certain that the great flourishing period of Gāndhāra art had passed away before the epoch of Kaniska. M. Foucher takes a middle view and considers that Kaniska occupied a middle period. Looking at the crude and debased workmanship of Kaniska's coins and relic casket, few, if any, are likely to accept the view. The facts seem to suggest that Kaniska's art represents the initial or an early stage in the evolution of the Gāndhāra school.

Moreover, our knowledge of the artistic and archaeological history of the time is, at present, too fragmentary, too vague and inchaotic, for any superstructure. We are almost wholly ignorant of local differences and when we talk of the Suṅga, the Kuṣāṇa,

the Gupta, we speak in centuries. And it must never be forgotten that numismatic and palaeographic evidences can only supply a relative date and never an absolute one unless the coins are dated in a known era.

On some coins of Kanīṣka we read : "Basileus Basileon Kanheskoy" — Kanīṣka, king of kings. The majority of his coins as well as those of others read : Shaonano Shao Kanheski Kushano. Shaonano Shao Havishki. The emblems on the reverse are figures of deities from the Greek, Iranian, Brahmanic and Buddhist pantheon. By the side of these figures their names also are given. But the figures of Buddha in the sitting or meditative and the standing posture occur on coins of Kanīṣka only. Kanīṣka like Akbar, patronised a number of religions flourishing within and without his empire and hence the diversities of divinities named on the coins.

The Kharoshthi inscription of the year 41 at Ārā on the Indus is dated during the reign of Mahārāja (an Indian title) Rajātirāja (Iranian) Devaputra (semi-Chinese) Kaiser (Roman) Vajeska-putra Kanīṣka.

There are a great many inscriptions dated in the reign of these three kings. They are chiefly dedications of Buddhistic and Jain objects of worship for the use of the people and occur principally at Mathurā. There is not a single Brahmanic inscription.

We have inscriptions of Kanīṣka between the years 1 or 3 or 5 and 23 ; of Vasiṣka between 24 and 28 ; of Kanīṣka II in the year 41 ; of Huviṣka between 33 and 60 ; and of Vāsudeva between 74 and 98.

A. C. 278

Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar¹ holds that the Guptas issued a gold coinage which is a close imitation of the Kuṣāṇas. The form of letters in the inscriptions of the Kuṣāṇas appears to belong to a later period. So he believes that Kanīṣka must have flourished later than the first century A. C. and one of the imperial Śaka kings founded the Śaka era. The practice of omitting hundreds in dates has long existed in that part of India e. g. Kangra at

¹ Collected Works of Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, Vol. I, Poona, 1933, pp. 35, 36.

present, and in consideration of the fact that an inscription found at Mathurā, which, though the name of the prince is omitted, contains titles used by the Kuṣāṇas and bears the date 290 and some units which are not distinct, the conclusion is that the dates in the inscriptions of these three Kuṣāṇa kings are abbreviated by the omission of two hundreds. These dates must be referred to the Śaka Era and will thus run from 205 Śaka to 298 Śaka i. e. 283 to 376 A. C. Hence the epoch of Kaniska is 278 A. C. (283-5). Instead of 205 only 5 was subtracted.

249 A. C.

R. C. Majumdar¹ thinks that two classes of evidence alone throw direct light on Kaniska's question. Regarding the Indian evidence he says that it is held by almost all the schools with the exception of Dr. Fleet and his *supporters*, that the *Northern Satraps* and king Gondopharnes preceded the Kuṣāṇa emperors and that among the latter, the Kadphises group preceded Kaniska. We have a series of epigraphic dates for these rulers which may be arranged as follows :

Northern Satraps 72 and 78

Gondopharnes 103

Kuṣāṇa Kings (without any proper name) 113, 122, 136
(Kaldua, Panjitar & Taxila Inscriptions)

Kaniska, Vāsiṣka, Huviṣka and Vāsudeva 3 -- 98

It is evident that the dates 3—98 cannot refer to the same era as the others. The inscriptions which refer to Kuṣāṇa rulers without any name should naturally be placed before those of Kaniska, for we know from the Chinese writers that the early Kuṣāṇa emperors did not personally govern India but a viceroy ruled there in their name. It is legitimate on numismatic and paleographic grounds to take all these dates ranging from 72 to 136 as belonging to one era. Kaniska, according to this view, would have to be placed after the year 136 of that era. The Western Satraps used the era of 78 A. C. as they were closely connected

¹ Kushan Chronology, by R. C. Majumdar, Journal of the Department of Letters, Calcutta Vol. I. pp. 65 et. seq.

with the north-west parts of India. Interpreted by the Śaka Era the dates of the various rulers will be :

Northern Satraps	150-156 A. C.	(78 + 72)
Gondopharnes	181 A. C.	(78 + 103)
Kuṣāna Kings	191 to 214 A. C.	(78 + 113)
Kaniska	sometime after 214 A. C.	

Two Chinese historical texts throw light upon the history of the Indo-Kuṣānas: Heou Han Chou's History of the Later Han Dynasty and the Wei Lio. The former covers the period between 25 and 220 A. C. and was composed by Fan Ye who died in 445 A. C. and the latter by Yu Housan between 239 and 265 A. C. and the events described come down to the period of Emperor Ming (227-239 A. C.)

Fan-Ye gives the following account of the Kuṣāna conquest of India. In old days the Yue-chi were vanquished by the Hioungnu. They then went to Ja=hia and divided the kingdom among five Jabgous. More than 100 years after that the Yabgou of Kouei Chouang (Kuṣāna) named Kieou-tsieou-kio (Kozoulo Kadphises) attacked and vanquished the four other Yabgous and called himself king; the name of his kingdom was Kuṣāna. He invaded Ngan-si (Parthia) and took possession of the territory of Kafou (Kabul). He also overcame Ponta and Kipin (Kāśmīra) and became completely master of these kingdoms. Kieu-Tsieou died at the age of more than 80. His son Yan-kaotchen (Wema Kadphises) succeeded him as king. He conquered India and established there a chief for governing. From this time the Yue-chi became extremely powerful. At this time all these Indian kingdoms were subject to the Yuechi. The Yuechi had killed their king and installed a chief to administer the government. The phrase 'at this time' should be taken in its normal sense, according to R. C. Majumdar, to refer to the closing years of the period with which Fan-ye dealt i. e. sometime after 220 A. C.

The two works speak in the same strain and one of them describes the events which took place about 239 A. C.. The empire of the Yue-chi, as described by Wei-liao, extended from Bactria to the eastern India. The Chinese evidence also shows

that Kozoulo Kadphises defeated the Parthians and conquered Kabul and that his son conquered India shortly after 220 A. C.. So Kaniska must be placed after 214 A. C.. We should avoid the assumption of a brand new era and our choice must, therefore, fall upon a known era which commences close to 220 A. C.. Such an era is to be found in the so-called Traikūṭaka, Kalacūri or Cedi Era beginning in 249 A. C. and so there can be scarcely any hesitation in looking upon Kaniska as the inaugurator of this era.

125 A. C.

According to Sten Konow¹, Kaniska is not mentioned by Chinese historical sources, although they were well aware of the happenings in western countries down to about 125 A. C., but not after that time. So it seems difficult to avoid the conclusion that Kaniska rose to power after the year 125 A. C.

We do not know who the king Kaniska mentioned in the Tibetan tradition was. The Khotan king Ksen mentioned bears a name which reminds us of Kaniska. It seems probable that king Kanika was the famous Kaniska, though Tārānātha distinguishes between them and says that the latter, whom he dates in the Mauryan period, as a young man, was chosen as a sovereign in the land of Tili and Mālavā. According to the Mahārājakanikalekha Kanika was a northern king of the Kuśa race and Kuśa can hardly be anything else than Kuśi, the ethnic designation used in Kaniska's gold legends.

According to V. A. Smith² Kadphises was succeeded by Kaniska. His name lives in the legends of Tibet, China, and Mongolia. Smith has no doubt that Kaniska lived at a time, considerably later than the Christian Era. Many other lines of evidence lead to the conclusion that Kaniska was the contemporary of Hadrian and Marcus, Aurelius, and came to the throne about 120 or 115 A. C.

¹ *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. II, part 1, Edited by Sten Konow, Calcutta, 1929.

² *Early History of India*, by V. A. Smith, Second Edition, p. 239,

78 A. C.

This date is supported by R. D. Banerji¹, Thomas, Rapson, Oldenberg and Waddel. According to Banerji palaeography places clearly the accession of Kanīṣka in the year 78 A. C. He was a great conqueror and conquered Kashgar, Yarkand, and Khotan. But it was he who was defeated and humiliated by Pan-Chao in A. C. 90 (the Manikyal inscription of the year 18 = 96 A. C.)

Banerji gives the following detailed life-story of Kanīṣka.
78 A. C. Accession of Kanīṣka.

79 A. C. Kanīṣka conquers Northern India as far as Banaras.

81 A. C. Sārnath inscription of Traipitakopādhyāya, Bala and Bhikṣupuṣyabuddhi, Banasphara, Kṣatrapa of Banaras.

82 A. C. Mathurā inscription of the year 4.

85 A. C. Eastern expedition ; attack of Pāṭaliputram and conquest of Magadha.

88 A. C. Strained relations with China.

89 A. C. Viceroy Sie crosses the Sung-Lin to punish the Chinese ; Sui-Vihar and Zeda Ins. of the year 11.

90 A. C. Kuṣāṇa army defeated by Panchao.

91 A. C. Huviṣka left in charge of the Indian provinces with full imperial titles ; Kanīṣka crosses the Indus and takes the field in person.

96 A. C. Vespasi, Satrap of Taxila, Manikyal Ins. of year 18.

98 A. C. Loss of all provinces to the north of Hindu Kush.

100 A. C. Internal trouble in Parthia.

102 A. C. Death of Panchao.

105 A. C. Reconquest of Bactria.

110 A. C. Conquest of Kashgar, Yarkand and Khotan.

111 A. C. Mathurā inscription of year 33 of Huviṣka.

115 A. C. Fourth Buddhist Council in the Kuṇḍalvana vihāra in Kāśmīra.

¹ The Scythian Period of Indian History, Indian Antiquary, 1906, pp. 26-75, by R. D. Banerji.

118 A. C. Āsvaghoṣa, a subordinate king of Banaras, Asoka pillar inscription of the year 40.

119 A. C. Ārā inscription of the year 41.

123 A. C. Death of Kanīṣka.

But the Śaka Era of 78 A. C. is certainly a southern reckoning. The Śaka Era was specially connected with Gujarat and Deccan. Besides it is an astronomical reckoning of the Hindus.

B. C. 57

According to J. F. Fleet¹ Kanīṣka is not mentioned by It-sing and the Divyāvadāna. But the tradition of Gandhāra and Kāśmīra, reported by Aiuen-Tsang, places him 400 years after the death of Buddha. There is no reason why we should refuse to accept this one. This tradition takes us from B. C. 483 the year in which Buddha died to B. C. 83, 25 years short of B. C. 58, which according to Fleet, is the exact date of Kanīṣka as the founder of the so-called Vikrama Era beginning in that year. According to him it is plain that the statement is one in round number. This date is supported by Cunningham, Kennedy and Barnett.

But the Buddhists, who so highly celebrate the great king and his Council held 400 years after Buddha's Nirvāṇa do not mention that the two together founded an era, and what is more, they altogether forbore the use of it.

Moreover, the era of 57 B. C. is essentially associated with King Vikramāditya² of Ujjayini who also ruled in Kāśmīra from A. C. 13 to 49 A. C. for 36 years and died at an advanced age of 111 in 54 A. C. after having ruled for 93 years.

B. C. 1356

We are faced with so many conflicting dates propounded by western scholars that hardly any reliance can be placed on any of them. We are forced to take shelter on some date supported by Indian tradition. The chronology³ of Kāśmīra Kings places the

¹ Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, 1913.

² Vikramaditya, Jain Siddhanta Bhaskara, Arrah, Vol. IX. 37-42

³ Journal of Indian History, Madras, The Revised Chronology of Kāśmīra Kings, Vol. XVIII, p. 55.

accession of Kaniska in 1356 B. C. and he ruled for 50 years up to 1306 B. C. Huška and Juska ruled for 28 and 34 years respectively before Kaniska from Kali era 1683 to 1711 (B. C. 1418 to 1390 B. C.) and Kali era 1711 to 1745 (B. C. 1390 to 1356 B. C.). The only plausible reason for the divergent dates on the coins and inscriptions of these kings is that some of them were dated in the regnal years and others in the Laukika era wherein the hundreds are omitted.

If the tradition, recorded by Hiuen Tsang be relied upon we shall easily get B. C. 1356, the accession date of Kaniska, as the exact date of Buddha's Nirvāṇa¹ is 1793 B. C. Kalhana shows his want of accuracy by placing Kaniska only 150 years² after the Buddha as he was not aware of the lost kings. By calculating we get 1356 B. C. (1793-400—in round number). And this date is the true date of Kaniska as the Greek history is hardly reliable³ and Chinese historians are silent about Kaniska. Would the historians consider this date dispassionately ?

¹ The Date of Lord Buddha, 1793 B. C. Bhāratīya Vidyā, Bombay, Vol. VIII. pp. 220-38.

² Cf. Rājatarāṅgiṇī. footnote of p. 325.

दुष्कजुष्ककनिष्काख्यास्त्रयस्तत्रैव पार्थिवाः ॥ १ ॥ १६९

ते तुरुष्कान्वयोद्धूता अपि पुण्याश्रयाः नृपाः ॥

भुष्कलेत्रादिदेशेषु मठचैत्यादि चक्रिरे ॥ १७० ॥

प्राज्ये राज्यक्षणे तेषां प्रायः काश्मीरमण्डलम् ॥

भोज्यमास्ते स्म बौद्धानां प्रव्रज्योर्जिततेजसाम् ॥ १७१ ॥

तदा भगवतः शाक्यसिंहस्य परनिवृत्तेः ॥

अस्मिन्महीलोकधातौ सार्धं वर्षशतं ह्यगात् ॥ १७२ ॥

³ A New Sheet Anchor of History, Bhāratīya Vidyā, Bombay, VI. pp. 117-22.

THE DATE OF MADHUSŪDANA SARASVATĪ*

BY

Sulochana A. Nachane

The so-called absence of exact chronology in the history of Sanskrit Literature has enlivened great controversies almost with respect to every savant and Madhusūdana Sarasvatī also has not proved an exception to it. Thus for the last four or five decades scholars have been attempting to ascertain the period which was sanctified by the celebrated Vedāntin with his vast literary activity. There has been a great divergence in their opinions as to the precise date with the result that not less than four centuries claim him as their child though he can at best be a **हैमातुर** in that sense! Thus Lassen assigned him to the middle of the 14th century taking him to be a predecessor of Sāyana who happened to refer to one Madhusūdana in his *Dhātuvṛtti*. Mr. K. T. Telang did not concur with him because Madhusūdana Sārasvatī lived after Mādhavācārya alias Vidyāranya, as he refers to Jīvanmukti-viveka of the latter. However he placed him about the end of the 15th or the beginning of the 16th century. Profs. Dasgupta and Radhakrishnan take him to have flourished in the first half of the 16th century while Ramajna Pandeya in the introduction to *Vedāntakalpapatikā* in *Sarasvatī-Bhavan Texts* fixes his date as 1540 A. D. to 1623 A. D. Mm. Vāsudevaśāstri Abhyankar in his introduction to *Siddhāntabindu* and P. P. S. Sastrin in the catalogue of the Mss. in Tanjore Library relegate him to the latter half of the 17th century. Not to speak of other opinions which vary from 15th to the 17th century. Mr. P. C. Diwanji's scholarly scrutiny of the whole matter in his introduction to *Siddhāntabindu* in *Gaikwad Oriental Series* appeared indeed to be a lullaby to the controversy. The conclusion arrived at by him is circa A. D. 1540 to 1647.

The ingenious remark that all dates given in the Indian Literary history are pins set up to be bowled down again seems to hold good in this case and it falls to the lot of this pin also to be bowled down again.

* Read at the 15th Session of the All-India Oriental Conference, Bombay.

One of the Mss. in Ānandāśrama Poona, of the Vedāntakalpalatikā of Madhusūdana Sarasvatī contains a verse at the end which gives the date of its composition. It runs :

अद्वीन्द्रद्वीन्दुसंख्येऽब्दे राक्षसे चैत्रमेचके ।
द्वितीयेऽन्दौ पंचवत्स्यां कृत्वा र्वितमिदं गुरोः ॥

The word कृत्वा at once proclaims that the verse has come from the pen of the author himself as no scribe could dare style his copying a "composition" and further there is no propriety in dedicating it to the reverend preceptor. So the verse looks genuine and accordingly the date of the composition of the Vedāntakalpalatikā is 'Samvat 1717' i. e. A. D. 1660. So the date of his demise should be lowered down to at least A. D. 1670 ; and if we are to believe in his having enjoyed a full life of 107 years the birth comes to about A. D. 1565 or so.

It cannot be argued against this date that Madhusūdana Sarasvatī does not quote the date of composition in any of his remaining works and so it is highly improbable that he should favour only this work with such partiality. For it may be recalled that this dating of only one of the various works is not an isolated fact in the Vedānta literature. On the contrary it appears to be a fashion as celebrated savants of Vedānta seem fond of dating only one of their several compositions. Thus Nṛsimhāśrama - pupil of Jagannāthāśrama - who just preceded our author has dated his Vedāntatattvaviveka alone. By the bye it may be mentioned that this ascetic is not to be confounded with Nṛsimhasarasvatī - pupil of Kṛṣṇānanda - who wrote his Śubodhini on Vedāntasāra in 'Śake 1510' i. e. A. D. 1588. Gaṅgādhara - Sarasvatī - pupil of Rāmacandra Sarasvatī - gives the date of his Svārājyasiddhi alone. They appear to date and dedicate their fond writing and Madhusūdana can be accused of such filial affection for Vedāntakalpalatikā as he alludes to it in several of his other works. Thus it has been— referred to, as the learned editor of Siddhāntabindu in Gaikwad Oriental Series records, six times in Advaitasiddhi his *magnum opus*, twice in Siddhāntabindu, twice in Mahimnastotraṭīkā, once in Advaitaratnarakṣaṇa and once in Bhaktirasāyana, though most of the references cannot be identified from the available text. This discrepancy might have crept in as

follows. Madhusūdana Sarasvatī might have had in his mind the plan of composing a work named Vedāntakalpalatikā, the veritable wish-fulfilling creeper of Vedānta, but might not have been able to carry it out strictly according to the plan. There is no doubt that the text containing one Stabaka as printed in the Sarasvatī-Bhavana Texts is self-sufficient and complete in itself as everything which the author promises to deal with in the beginning has been dealt with as he himself remarks. Thus at the very outset is stated :

निर्धूय जैमिनिपतञ्जलि-गीतमोक्षीः

काणाद-कपिल-शिवादिमतानि चाहम् ।

श्रीव्यास-शंकर-सुरेश्वरसूचितार्थ-

शुद्धिं व्यनक्ति विशदं मितभाषितेन ॥ ४ ॥

सुसुक्ष्णामलुप्येयविक्षेपविनिवृत्तये ।

मोक्षं ससाधनं वच्मि परपक्षनिरासतः ॥ ५ ॥

Having refuted all the opposed views of other दर्शन्स he is going to expound Śāṅkara philosophy in brief and to lay his finger upon the nature and means of salvation for the benefit of perplexed votaries. In the concluding part of the work he remarks :

तत्सिद्धमात्मैवाविद्यानिवृत्त्युपलक्षितो मोक्षः । तत्साधनं च वेदान्तवाक्य-
करणकोऽन्यानुपरक्तब्रह्मात्मैक्यसाक्षात्कार एव श्रवणाद्यपनीतप्रतिबन्धः
सन्निति सर्वे समञ्जसम् ।

So he has proved that salvation is nothing but the self getting rid of nescience and the means to attain to it, is the realisation of the unity of Brahman and the self helped by the investigation etc. into Upaniṣadic passages and other auxiliaries. Similarly the concluding verse reads :

न्यायैर्निर्धूय दुष्टानिह कपिलकणादाक्षपादादिवादा-

नादायाऽदुष्टमेकं श्रुतिमितममृतद्वारमद्वैतवाद्म् ।

वेदान्तैकप्रमेयं परमसुखमयं ज्ञानमज्ञानशून्यं

मोक्षं व्याचक्षते यं कमपि सुकृतिनः सोऽहमेवास्मि पूर्णः ॥

In this way repelling all the fallacious views held by Kapila and other Dārśāṇikas he has established Advaita as the only valid doctrine. So everything which he intended to put forth has been stated in precise and concise terms and hence the work

does not seem to continue any further. Of course the word *Stabaka* in all the colophons of extant Mss. is inexplicable. The case is not the same as that of his *Bhaktirasāyana*, the first *Ullāsa* of which when printed was mistaken to comprise the whole work. For there is an express reference at the end of the first *Ullāsa* to अनन्तरोद्भास in the body of the text itself. There is no such allusion to other स्तरकs in the extant text of *Vedānta-kalpalatikā*. May what it be, there is no difficulty in accepting the work as it is and it may probably be the last work of our author and hence presented to the venerable preceptor.

The terminus ad quem cannot be settled with reference to the date of the copy of the Mss. of *Siddhāntabindu* as has been done in the introduction to *Siddhāntabindu* in *Gaiokwad Oriental Series*, for one manuscript of the work preserved in the *Bhandarkar O. R. Institute* dates Śake 1537 i. e. A. D. 1615 which was obviously copied during the lifetime of the author even accepting the period of his life as A. D. 1540 to 1647. The said Ms. belongs to one *Trimalārāja* probably same as *Trimala Bhaṭṭa* – pupil of *Rāmakṛṣṇa* – son of *Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa* and was written at *Puṇyastambhagrāma* or *Punatāmbe*. The terminus ad quem may possibly be the date of *Sadānanda Kāśmīra* who quotes from *Siddhāntabindu* in his *Advaitabrahmasiddhi*, the Ms. of which dates A. D. 1705 and belongs, as the editor of the work in *Bibliotheca Indica* surmises, to the author himself. As regards the vast interval between the two dates A. D. 1615 the date of the copy of *Siddhāntabindu* and A. D. 1660 date of *Vedānta-kalpalatikā*, it may be stated that this is again similar to the case of *Gaṅgādhara Sarasvatī* a manuscript of whose *Udgāra* dates A. D. 1771, while he composed his *Svārājyasiddhi* in A. D. 1826. It reveals that such great gap between the composition of two works of the same author though unaccountable is not impossible and especially in case of *Madhusūdana Sarasvatī* who enjoyed such a longlife of repute there is nothing incredible. Further the blessed devotee due to the साक्षात्कार of *Śrīkṛṣṇa*, the idol of his worship, is said to have performed many miracles such as bestowing sons on sonless ones and the like.

As to his meeting with Emperor Akbar, it might have taken place in the nineties of the 16th century. No stress can be laid on his being a middle-aged man at the time of the interview for :

गुणाः पुत्रास्थानं गुणिषु न च लिङ्गं न च वयः ।

OR

तेजसां हि न वयः समीक्ष्यते ।

Everybody knows the great influence wielded by Śrī Śaṅkarācārya even at an age of sixteen or by Jñāneśvara the Marāṭhi poet-philosopher, or for the matter of that even younger William Pitt led the parliament just when he came of age : Thus examples can be multiplied and no wonder that Madhusūdana Sarasvatī with his outstanding genius fetched the famous encomium from Akbar and his courtiers at an early age. According to the tradition recorded in the Kalyāṇa Vedāntāṅka Vol. II, Madhusūdana Sarasvatī carried on his activities at Benares in the reign of Shahajahan who met his doom in A. D. 1658. The verse quoted by Mr. K. T. Telang from one of the Mss. of Gūḍhārthadīpikā of our author says that the commentary was brought to the Deccan in the reign of Emperor Aurangzeb. The verse is :

अवरङ्गमहीपाले कृत्स्नां शासति मेदिनी ।

आनीता भगवद्गीताटीका पण्डितसिद्धकैः ।

If this verse, as Mr. Telang argues, refers to a time after A. D. 1661 when Aurangzeb became secure on his throne and before Shivājī's coronation, the commentary might, in all probability, have been composed in the reign of Shahajahan as it could not take long period to find its way to the Deccan for Siddhāntbindu had actually travelled as far as Puṇvastambha or Puṇatāmbe, even in A. D. 1615. The lapse between the composition and its march on to the South can at the most be set up as fifteen years and thus the time of its composition comes to circa 1645 A. D.

About the alleged debate with Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa and consequent defeat of Nṛsiṃhāśrama, Mādhava Sarasvatī and Madhusūdana Sarasvatī. Nṛsiṃhāśrama wrote his Vedāntatattvaviveka in A. D. 1547 and is known to have finally converted Appayya Dīkṣita - who lived from A. D. 1520 to 1593 as Mahāliṅga Shastri proves in his article in the Journal of Oriental Research Madras

Vol. III. - to Advaita-Vedānta. So his debate with the famous Mīmāṃsist might have happened in the sixties of the 16th century. So also Mādhava Sarasvatī, Guru of Madhusūdana and pupil of Rāmeśvara Bhaṭṭa, father of Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa, might have met the onslaught of Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa's syllogism precisely about the same time or sometime afterwards. It is doubtful whether we should emphasize the debate of Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa with Madhusūdana unless we take it that Madhusūdana hearing his preceptor's defeat challenged the victor and got himself overcome might be circa 1585 or so. But it is highly incredible to suppose that Madhusūdana even the vanquisher of famous Gadādhara Bhaṭṭa, an outright logician, should have failed to impress the Mīmāṃsist :

The tradition quoted by Mm. Vāsudeva Śāstri Abhyankar in his introduction to Siddhāntabindu that Madhusūdana was a contemporary of Gadādhara Bhaṭṭa, Khaṇḍadevamīśra, Jagannātha Paṇḍita and Nāgoji Bhaṭṭa, who all flourished in the latter half of the 17th century seems plausible and with reasonable certainty Madhusūdana Sarasvatī can be said to have witnessed the Mughal rule from Akbar to Aurangzeb and thus lived circa 1565 to 1672 A. D.

“THE ĀSVAMEDHA : ITS ORIGINAL SIGNIFICATION”*

BY

R. D. KARMAKAR

The Āsvamedha is described in the Śatapathabrāhmaṇa as the king of sacrifices (राजा वा एष यज्ञानां यदश्वमेधः). Kātyāyana says that it is intended for a king who is sarvakāma. Bhavabhūti, in Uttararāmacarita IV, calls it the touch-stone for the world-conquering kṣatriya kings (अश्वमेध इति विश्वविजयिनां क्षत्रियाणामूर्जस्वलः सर्व-क्षत्रपरिभावी महानुत्कर्षनिकषः). The Āsvamedha is thus acknowledged to be a great State-function, characterised by pomp and grandeur worthy of an Emperor who has subdued all other kings. The Mahābhārata describes in detail the great sacrifice performed by Yudhiṣṭhira, in the Āsvamedhika parvan from which one can easily ascertain the unrivalled nature of the Horse-sacrifice.

There are several features of the Āsvamedha which contribute to the importance of the sacrifice:— Thus

(1) The sacrifice (which commences on the 8th day of the bright fort-night of the month of Phālguna, March) lasts for one year and twenty-seven days.

(2) Four thousand cows and four hundred gold coins are given to the four priests on the first day.

(3) The Sāvitreṣṭi is performed every day for full one year, till the return of the horse.

(4) The horse is escorted by 100 Rājaputras, 100 Kṣatriyaputras, 100 Sūtagrāmaṇiputras and one hundred Kṣattriputras, all armed with different weapons, during the year the horse is allowed to wander at will.

(4) Singing and playing upon the lute by two Brāhmaṇas (who glorify the performance of sacrifices and the munificent Dakṣiṇā given over) by day, and by two Kṣatriyas (who glorify the valorous deeds of kings) by night, goes on throughout the year.

* Paper read at the 15th Oriental Conference, Bombay. It is printed here with the permission of the Secretary of the Conference.

(5) Similarly the "Cycle of discourses (or stories)"—परिवृत्तवाक्यान—lasting for ten days, is continued throughout the year; that is, there are in all thirty-six cycles (each lasting for ten days) during the Ásvamedha sacrifice. This परिवृत्तवाक्यान is one of the unique features of the Ásvamedha.¹

(6) After the successful return of the horse, the sacrifice goes on for twenty-seven more days (the first twelve days are concerned with the दीक्षाकर्म, the next twelve days with उपसक्तकर्म, and the last three days, with सोमयज्ञ).

(7) On the 25th day after the return of the horse, the अग्निष्टोम is performed, when there are 21 yūpas, and twenty-two victims are offered.

(8) The 26th is the most important day—'Der Tag' of the sacrifice, for it is on that day that the horse is killed.

The king riding in a chariot yoked with four horses (of which the Horse-victim is one), enters a pond to the east, till the horses get wet. The three queens (महिषी, बावाता and परिदक्ता) anoint the horse on its return with ghee and 109 pearls are woven by them in its mane and hair of the tail.

As many as 260 (forest-animals) and 337 domesticated ones (including the 12 पर्यङ्क victims) are offered as victims; the 260 forest-animals are however not actually killed.

The horse is then made to lie upon a gold sheet laid on sacrificial grass and covered over with a piece of cloth, and then it is killed.

The queens cleanse the face of the horse and the chief queen ceremoniously lies down near the dead horse.

It will thus be seen that the परिवृत्तवाक्यान and the उपसंवेशन of the queen, are the two unique features of the horse-sacrifice, the other features being found in the case of other sacrifices, though not on such a grand scale. We propose to deal, in the present paper, with the उपसंवेशन feature in order to find out what must have been the basis of this extraordinary ceremonial so solemnly gone through. Prima facie, it appears incredible that the chief queen should be lying down by the side of the horse (though dead, and looked upon as Prajāpati) in the presence of the king,

¹ This would be dealt with by us in another paper at a future date.

the priests and the elite of the state gathered there to witness the ceremony. It is significant that the *Āśvamedhikaparvan* which describes the other features of Yudhiṣṭhira's *Āśvamedha* more or less in detail dismisses the उपसंवेशन feature in just one line (उपसंवेशयन् राजंस्ततस्तां द्रुपदात्मजाम् ।) which shows that in the times of the writer of the *Āśvamedhikaparvan*, at any rate, this particular feature was looked upon with abhorrence.

The राजसनेयिसंहिता and the कृष्णयजुर्वेदसंहिता mention the details of this obscene ceremonial which seems to have been handed down by tradition, and which had to be gone through, whether one liked it or not, as the fruit of the sacrifice can be secured by one only if one sticks religiously to the minutest details of the ritual prescribed.

After the horse had been killed, the king's four wives and a maiden, attended by four hundred female attendants, go to him to wash his feet and then the queens are addressed by the प्रतिप्रस्थातृ-
अम्बे अम्बाल्यम्बिके ।

(O mother, dear mother, dearest mother); the chief queen replies :—

न मा नयति कश्चन ।

ससस्त्यश्वकः ।

(No man takes me on for sexual intercourse, this wretched horse also is lying low)

प्रतिप्रस्थातृ—सुमगे काम्पीलवासिनि सुवर्गे लोके सं प्रोण्वीथाम् ।

आहमजानि गर्भधमा त्वमजासि गर्भधम् ॥

(O you with a beautiful yoni, dressed in fine garment from Kāmpīla, let the horse and you be covered up with a silken garment, and then say to the horse 'Let me come to you who can impregnate; you also should approach me who can impregnate'.

महिषी—तौ सह चतुरः पदः सं प्र सारयावहे ।

(Let us two then together stretch forth our four feet so as to be close to one another)

प्रतिप्रस्थातृ—वृषा वां रेतोधा रेतो दधातु ।

(The *Pratiprasthātṛ* says :— Let the the semen-sprinkler (the horse or līṅga) of you, sprinkle the semen; let the semen-holder (the queen or yoni), hold on the semen)

उत्सवथ्योर्गुदं धेह्यन्निमुदन्निमन्वज ।

यः स्त्रीणां जीवभोजनो य आसां विलधावनः ।

प्रियः स्त्रीणामपीच्यः ।

य आसां कृष्णे लक्ष्मणि सर्दिर्गुदि परावधीत् ।

(O horse, place your hind part near the anus on the thighs ; direct your erect śiśna towards the yoni—the śiśna which is held as dear as life by women, which enters swiftly their hole (yoni), which though dear is hidden away by women, which pounds down the middlemost of the yoni characterised by dark colour.)

(Sāyana takes अपीच्यः to mean अत्यादरेण प्राप्यते ; we follow Monier Williams in taking it to mean ' hidden '. ससस्ति-निद्राति)

अम्बे अम्बाल्यम्बिके न मा यमति कश्चन ।

ससस्यश्वकः ।

(Same as above, except यमति for नयति । According to Sāyana, the Mahiṣī here addresses her mother thrice, for the mother is the greatest friend and sympathiser of the daughter, in her distress).

ऊर्ध्वामेनामुच्छ्रयताद्रेणुभारं गिराविव ।

अथास्य मध्यमेधतां शीति वति पुनन्निव ।

O queen, raise up this your yoni, just as a person before taking a heavy load of bamboo-reeds on his head, first raises it up on the ground ; and then let the middle of the yoni be refreshed or extended, like a person exhausted by the operation of winnowing the corn, getting refreshed in the cool breeze.

[According to Sāyana, this is uttered by the other wives of the king].

अम्बे अम्बाल्यम्बिके । etc.

... ... ससस्यश्वकः । [Same as above]

यन्दरिणी यवमति न पुष्टं पशु मन्यते ।

शूद्रा यदर्यजारा न पोषाय धनायति ।

As a female deer that (secretly) eats up the corn (at night) does not think of securing full nourishment but manages to eat as much as she could ; as a Śūdra woman having intercourse with an Āryan paramour, does not aspire for wealth for her nourishment (but is satisfied with the union itself ; so O queen, you should be satisfied with whatever union you have with the horse and not ask for more).

(According to Sāyana, the wives of the king say this to the Mahiṣī).

अम्बे अम्बाल्यम्बिके

... .. ससस्यश्वकः । (Same as above)

इयं यका शकुन्तिकाऽऽहलमिति सर्पति ।

आहतं गभे पसो नि जल्गुलीति धाणिका ॥

Here this little female-bird (yoni of yours), (desirous of union), is throbbing up, making the sound *Āhala*; the semen has entered into the yoni which being full of the semen is making the 'gulgul' sound (so you have no reason to complain, O queen).

अम्बे अम्बाल्य

... .. ससस्यश्वकः ।

(Same as above)

माता च ते पिता च तेऽग्रं वृक्षस्य रोहतः ।

प्रहलामीति ते पिता गभे मुष्टिमत् सयत् ॥

Your father and your mother used to mount the top of a tree (for sexual intercourse), and your father thrust his fist into the yoni (of your mother) saying he would shatter up the yoni (you have no reason to complain, you are luckier than your mother who had to content herself with the muṣṭi, not the śiśna even, but you have secured the śiśna of a horse at any rate).

(Sāyana explains वृक्षस्याग्रं as वृक्षस्य कस्यचिच्छाखया निर्मितं तल्पं, and मुष्टिं as मुष्टिसदृशं मेढ्रम्).

The वाजसनेयिसंहिता reads after ... ससस्यश्वकः, सुभद्रिकाम्पिलवासिनीम् । (this wretched horse lies with the accursed Subhadra from the Kāmpila country; so that I am not wanted by any man or horse either).

(According to Mahidhara, the wives of the king say this to one another).

गणानां त्वा गणपतिं हवामहे प्रियाणां त्वा प्रियपतिं हवामहे निधीनां
त्वा निधिपतिं हवामहे सो मम ।

(The wives of the king, while circumambulating the horse say this :— O horse, we invoke you, the lord of hosts, of the hosts; we invoke you, the beloved lord, of the beloved; we invoke you, the lord of treasures, of the treasures — be you my husband).

[सो मम—मम पतिस्त्वं भूया इति शेषः—महीधर]

गणानां त्वा is read in place of the line सुभगे कास्पिलवासिनि above.

महीधर explains आहमजानि गर्भधमा त्वमजासि गर्भधम् as हे अश्व गर्भधं गर्भं दधाति गर्भधं गर्भधारकं रेतः अहम् आ अजानि आकृष्य क्षिपामि ... त्वं च गर्भधं रेतः आ अजासि आकृष्य क्षिपसि ।

For the next verse, the वा० सं० reads

ता उभौ चतुरः पदः संप्रसारयाच ।
स्वर्गे लोके प्रोर्णुवाथा वृषा वाजी रेतोधा रेतो दधातु ।
उत्सक्थया अवगुदं धेहि समञ्जिश्चारया वृषन् ।

[This is said by the Yajamāna to the horse — महीधर]

रेतोधाः—वीर्यस्य धारयिता (अश्वः) — महीधर. The वाजसनेयिसंहिता drops the passage य आसां ... परावधीत् ।

यकासकी शकुन्तिका हलगिति वञ्चति ।
आहन्ति गर्भे पसो निगल्गलीति धारका ॥

(The Adhvaryu says this to the Kumāri, pointing to her yoni)

This (your) yoni is like a little bird moving on, making the sound ' Halag ' ; when the śisna balters into the yoni, the yoni, filled up (with the semen) makes the ' gal-gal ' sound (or starts flowing on).

यकोसको शकुन्तक आहलगिति वञ्चति ।
विवक्षत इव ते मुखमध्वर्यो मा नस्त्वमभिभाषथाः ॥

(The Kumāri says this to the Adhvaryu, pointing to his śisna :—

Here is this little bird (śisna of yours) moving this way and that, with the sound ' āhalag ', and appears like your face about to pour forth words.

O Adhvaryu, do not talk to us like that.

(Both of us are in the same condition ; so we should not taunt each other).

माता च ते पिता

(Same as above, except that प्रतिलामीति is found in stead of प्रग्लामीति).

(This is said by Brahman to the महिषी. Mahidhara explains वृक्षस्यायं as काष्ठमयस्य मन्त्रकस्योपरिभागम्, प्रतिलांभीति as तव भोगेन स्निह्यामीति वदन, and अवतंसयति as प्रक्षिपति or उत्थानेनालं करोति)

(The महिषी retorts, practically in the same words,

माता च ते पिता च तेऽग्रे वृक्षस्य क्रीडतः ।

... .. सुखं ब्रह्मन्मा त्वं वदो बहु ॥

The उद्गातृ says, referring to the वावाता, to some man there)

ऊर्ध्वमिनां etc. (Same as above, with the change गिरौ भारहृरन्निव for वेणुभारं गिराविव)

(Mahidhara's comment on this is as follows :--

यथा कश्चित् ... पर्वतोपरि भारमारोपयन् यथा तमुद्भूयति तथैनामूर्ध्वो कुरु ... यथा अस्या वावाताया मध्यमेधतां योनिप्रदेशो वृद्धिं यायात् यथा योनिर्विशाला भवति तथा मध्ये गृहीत्वोच्छ्रापयेत्यर्थः । दृष्टान्तान्तरमाह शीते वाते पुनश्चिव यथा शीतले वायौ वाति पुनन् धान्यपवनं कुर्वाणः कृषीवलो धान्यपात्रं यथा ऊर्ध्वं करोति तथेत्यर्थः ।

Sāyana understands the second दृष्टान्त in a different manner).

(Vāvatā retorts in the same way, mutatis mutandis).

ऊर्ध्वमेनमु ।

अथास्य मध्यमेजतु ॥

[The Hotr says to the परिवृक्ता—

यदस्या अहंभेद्याः ऊधु स्थलमुपातसत् ।

मुष्काविदस्या एजतो गोशफे शकुलाविव ॥

[Mahidhara's comment :— यत् यदा अस्याः परिवृक्तायाः ऊधु ह्रस्वं च स्थलं च शिश्रमुपातसत् उपगच्छेत् योनिं प्रति गच्छेत् तसं उपक्षये तदा मुष्कौ वृषणौ इव एव अस्याः योनेरुपरि एजतः कम्पेते । लिङ्गस्य स्थलत्वात् योनेरल्पत्वात् वृषणौ बहि-स्तिष्ठत इत्यर्थः । तत्र दृष्टान्तः गोशफे जलपूर्णं गोः खुरे शकुलौ मत्स्याविव यथा उदक-पूर्णं गोः पदे मत्स्यो कम्पेते ... कीदृश्या अस्याः अहंभेद्याः अहं भगं भेषं विदार्य यस्याः सा अहंभेदी तस्याः अहंभिद्यते यस्याः वा ।

[The परिवृक्ता says to the होतृ

यदेवासो ललामगुं प्र विष्टीमिनमाविषुः ।

सकृन्ना देदिश्यते नारी सत्यस्याक्षिभुवो यथा ॥

(Mahidhara's comment :— ललामगुं—लिङ्गं पुण्ड्राकारम् ... यदा देवाः शिक्षक्रीडितो भवन्तो ललामगुं योनौ प्रवेशयन्ति तदा नारी सकृन्ना ऊरुणा उरुभ्यां देदिश्यते निर्दिश्यते अत्यन्तं लक्ष्यते ... भोगसमये सर्वस्य नार्यङ्गस्य नरेण व्याप्तत्वादूर-मात्रं लक्ष्यते ... तत्र दृष्टान्तः ... यथा कश्चिदक्षिभुवा प्रत्यक्षेण सत्येन निर्दिश्यते तत्र विश्वासो भवति तथा ऊरुणा वृष्टेन नारीति लक्ष्यते इत्यर्थः ।

[The क्षत्तृ says to पालागली—

यद्धरिणी ... (Same as above)

Mahidhara's comment :—

यदा हरिणी यवमन्ति ... तदा क्षेत्री पशु पशु हरिणं पुष्टं न मन्यत मम धान्यभक्षणेन पशुः पुष्टो जातः सम्यगिति न जानाति किन्तु मदीयं क्षेत्रं भक्षितमिति दुःखी भवतीत्यर्थः ।

... वैश्यो यदा गूढां गच्छति तदा गूढः पोषाय न धनायते पुष्टिं न इच्छति मद्भार्या वैश्येन भुक्ता सती पुष्टा जातेति न मन्यते किं तु व्यभिचारिणी जातेति दुःखितो भवतीत्यर्थः ।

[Pālāgali retorts :—

यद्धरिणी यवमन्ति न पुष्टं बहु मन्यते ।

गूढो यदर्यायै जारो न पोषमनुमन्यते ॥

[Mahidhara's comment :—

... इदं भवतोऽपि तुल्यम् ... यदा गूढः अर्याया वैश्यायाः जारो भवति तदा ... वैश्यः पोषं पुष्टिं नानुमन्यते मम स्त्री पुष्टा जातेति नानुमन्यते किन्तु गूढेण नीचेन भुक्तेति ह्रिद्यतीत्यर्थः [अश्लीलभाषणं समाप्तम्] ।

The अश्लीलभाषण is wound up with an expiatory verse,

दधिक्राव्णो अकारिषञ्जिष्णोरश्वस्य वाजिनः ।

सुरभि नो मुखा करत्प्र ण आयूँषि तारिषत् ॥

Mahidhara's comment :— ... वयमध्वर्यादयः अकारिषमकार्ष्णं कृतवन्तः ... अश्लीलभाषणमिति शेषः । किमर्थम् अश्वस्य संस्कारायेति शेषः । ... नोऽस्माकं मुखा मुखाणि सुरभि सुरभीणि करत् करोतु यज्ञ इति शेषः । अश्लीलभाषणेन दुर्गन्धं प्राप्तानि मुखानि सुरभीणि यज्ञं करोत्वित्यर्थः ।

It would be clear from the above that this whole episode (अश्लीलभाषण as the commentator puts it) is highly obscene, that it takes place while the chief queen lies with the horse, that the four important priests in the sacrifice take part in it and all this goes on in the presence of the king and other spectators ! Likewise, the two *Saṃhitās* show many different readings in such a small piece (a thing which no one expects in the case of *Saṃhitās* at any rate), whole verses also being dropped ; the *Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa* refers to only a few verses in this connection. *Sāyana* and Mahidhara explain the verses differently and assign different context to some of them. And lastly, the persons taking part in this strange drama, are aware of the fact that they are doing

something abhorrent and pray in the end that their defiled mouths may be rendered pure as before !

There is no doubt that the episode concerned could not be omitted, because it had been regarded as a necessary and important feature ever since the Aśvamedha rite had been instituted, and that it was retained even after the ideas about a sacrifice came to be changed a good deal, as just a relic of old times. It is only on this supposition that the presence of this extraordinarily obscene passage could be accounted for.

It is proposed in the present paper to investigate into this matter further, with a view to find out some *raison d'être* for it. In order to do this we shall have to first look into the meanings of the words मेघ and यज्ञ, both of which are generally taken to mean 'a sacrifice' wherein oblations are offered to deities through fire. This meaning is undoubtedly not the original one. यज्ञ seems to have come from the roots या or इ and जन्, meaning 'going and meeting' and then 'meeting in sexual intercourse'; similarly मेघ comes from मिद् to shower forth (semen), or मिथ् to meet together, and originally meant the same thing. The Puruṣasūkta hymn (RV. X. 90) throws some light on this problem. The last Rk there is—

यज्ञेन यज्ञमजयन्त देवास्तानि धर्माणि प्रथमान्यासन् ।

ते ह नाकं महिमानः सचन्त यत्र पूर्वे साध्याः सन्ति देवाः ॥

Griffith translates the first quarter as "Gods, sacrificing, sacrificed the victim" (which is hardly satisfactory); others translate "The Gods sacrificed the sacrifice with the sacrifice" (which is well-nigh meaningless). There is no doubt that the author of the Puruṣasūkta is here contrasting his conception of यज्ञ (the symbolical पुरुषयज्ञ) with that of the साध्या, the older Devas, living in the नाक region. According to the Puruṣasūkta, the यज्ञ is to be a हुतयज्ञ ((तस्माद्यज्ञात्सर्वहुतो ऋचः सामानि जज्ञिरे) when oblations are offered into the fire for the deities. But that was the उत्तर or वर्तमान conception of यज्ञ, the प्रथमानि धर्माणि of the यज्ञ being those that were held and practised by the साध्या in the नाक regions (The expression महिमानः is usually taken to mean 'great'. Is it likely that महिमानः is a mistake for महमानः in which case the expression could refer to महलोक which is one of the seven upper

lokas, just next to स्वर्गलोक ?). The प्रथमधर्मस are described in the expression यज्ञेन यज्ञमयजन्त देवाः; what is the meaning of यज्ञ here? The expression यज्ञो वै विष्णुः is often met with in Vedic literature; and the epithet शिविविष्ट is exclusively applied to विष्णु in the R̥gveda. We are probably on the right track if we understand यज्ञ to mean 'the male organ of generation', यज्ञेन यज्ञमयजन्त देवाः would then mean 'the Gods performed the sacrifice in olden times by indulging in sexual intercourse'. The Puruṣasūkta tells us further that this practice obtained originally in the नाक region, and was presumably initiated by the सध्वस. In the times of the Puruṣasūkta, this practice had become obsolete and यज्ञ had come to mean a हुतयज्ञ, where the oblation offered was, sometimes, even a human victim. To put it plainly यज्ञ seems to have meant in very remote times an orgy of promiscuous sexual intercourse in which the Devas took part in the presence of fire by the side of the altar itself.

The practice of indulging in the sexual act in the presence of others or in the open seems to have been in vogue right up to the Mahābhārata times. Parāśara, the father of Vyāsa, cohabited with Satyawati in the presence of other R̥sis (the Mahābhārata of course adds here that Parāśara created a mist about him so that they could not see him); Dirghatamas actually founded a cult, where the sexual act was carried on openly and had to be banished away. Cases are recorded in the Mahābhārata, where human beings had intercourse with beasts. Vivasvat is described as having intercourse with a mare (the actual text states that Vivasvat in the form of a horse united with his wife संज्ञा in the form of a mare, - but this need not come in the way of our understanding the real state of things); Vibhāṇḍaka had union with a female deer, so also Ruru and Kindama and so forth. (Even now some such cases, union with a cow or sheep, are reported here and there). This practice is not confined to any particular country, but is reported to be in vogue, though not so common, in all countries, especially in very remote times. Among the Hebrews, for instance, a law in Ex. 22¹⁹ reads 'Whosoever lieth with a beast shall surely be put to death' on which the writer in the

Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics Vol. II, p. 672, rightly remarks, "just as a prohibition law implies that traffic in liquor has been known, and has even been customary, so the prohibition recorded in this law testifies to the existence of the thing prohibited". The same writer, referring to the Gilgamesh Epic of the Babylonians, writes about Enkidu, one of the heroes of the Epic as follows:—'As the Epic goes on to tell how by intercourse with a *hierdoulos*, he was enticed away from his animal companions, the narrative means apparently, that before the coming of the woman, he had satisfied his sexual appetite with the animals'.

Taking all this into consideration, it would not be wrong to suggest that अश्वमेध did originally connote actual union with a horse. It is well-known that the horse is regarded as the most vigorous male animal and there certainly was a time when society allowed women, who for one reason or other could not secure male human beings to consort with them, to have intercourse with a horse, and that event was regarded as a fit one for being celebrated with special pomp. It is this ancient practice that the ritual of the Aśvamedha has faithfully tried to preserve, even when the whole idea about the sacrifice underwent a complete change.

The burden of the obscene dialogues indulged in by the queens and the priests is the confession of the lady addressed to, that she has to lie down with the horse, because no human being is willing to lie with her; what else could she do in the circumstances? The horse also is praised there as one who is most effective in bestowing progeny. The chief queen, as the wife of the sacrificing king, has to undergo this ordeal as a matter of form, but the names of the other three referred to (कुमारी, वावाता and परिवृक्ता) are significant, showing what the state of things was in the remote savage times. Apparently the Kumāri typifies ladies who could not secure a human mate in spite of all their attempts to do so. The वावाता (an obscure expression) presumably typifies an over-sexed amazon type of woman and the परिवृक्ता, a woman discarded by the husband, and so free to act in any way she

likes. These apparently were permitted to have intercourse with a horse.*

This interpretation about the original basis of the *Āśvamedha* appears startling enough, but there is nothing improbable about it. From the *Mahābhārata* and the *Purāṇas*, it is clear that there was a time in Ancient India when the idea of relationship like father, mother, son, daughter, etc, was absent and men and women had free sexual intercourse with one another (even now this state of things prevails among certain savage tribes) in the presence of all. The *Mānavas* invited the *Devas* who were more civilized than they, to partake in the mass sexual intercourse practised by them in the presence of fire, invigorated by the quaffing of plenty of soma-juice or liquor. This ceremonial was called *मेघ* or *यज्ञ*. *Draupadī* herself (as also, *Sītā*) is described as having been born of the *वेदि*, which practically means that her birth occurred at the above type of *यज्ञ*. (It was only when the idea of family took firm root in society, that this practice ceased).

Śvetaketu is credited with propounding the doctrine of strict monogamy and placing the marriage tie on a proper basis. *यज्ञ* then took the form of a religious observance where oblations were thrown into the fire to please the Gods. For a time, the victims offered were cows, goats and even human beings. Even this in course of time was deemed to be obnoxious and the practice of offering flour-oblations to the deities came into vogue. Though the substance was changed, care was taken to conform to the format of the original sacrifice as scrupulously as possible. The *Prajāpati* used the *barhis* or sacrificial grass for the *यज्ञ* in the old sense; his later descendants also continued to regard the *barhis* as holy for their purposes as well in the altered notions about *यज्ञ*. Hence the intercourse with the horse, which originally

* "There is hardly any animal that has not been utilised for the gratification of the human lust; but naturally the animals easily available are employed such as mastiff and lap-dogs for Eur-American men and women; goats and asses in Italy; mares and sows for Southern Slavs; geese, cats for China; donkeys for Egyptian, Iranian and North Indian women; the sows by Annamites; goats, asses and mares by the Arabs; and goats, asses, cows by the Tamils" (p. 106). *Sexology of the Hindus* by Chandra Chakrabarty.

was an actual fact, came to be retained as having a symbolical value, and showing continuity with the ancient practices.

It is admitted that in remote times (and even now among savage tribes) the custom of lending wives to friends or strangers was quite common, especially at festival and religious celebrations. "Such general exchange is found in Australia, ... among the Eskimos. ... and among other peoples ... It has probably been of universal occurrence at such times, and in Europe relics of it are found in the folk-festivals, at which considerable licence still prevails" (p. 125, Vol. I, Ency. History of Religion and Ethics). The obscene rites practised by the Śāktas are the relics of the old ceremonial prevalent in the times when Yajña meant 'procreation'.*

The remarkable feature of the Áśvamedha sacrifice, the उप-संवेशन of the queen can be, in our opinion, reasonably accounted for, only on the supposition that Áśvamedha originally connoted union with a horse, in consonance with the original meaning of Yajña or Medha.

As regards the verse अम्बे अम्बाल्यम्बिके (which is not referred to, by the Śātapatha), अम्ब, अम्बालि, अम्बिका are generally taken to mean 'mother' or 'an affectionate term of address'. Could it be that this verse was added later on by some one, just after the Mahābhārata times, who wanted to make it quite clear why the ladies desired to lie with a horse, and chose for the names of such ladies अम्बा, अम्बालि(का), अम्बिका, the three princesses,

* The following extract from 'The Evolution of marriage' by Ch. Letourneau (pp. 60-61) describes the attitude of the Polynesians in this connection—For the Polynesians the pleasures of sensual love were the chief business of life; they neither saw evil nor practised restraint in them.....The conversation also was in keeping with the morals. "One thing which particularly struck me, says Moerenhout, "as soon as I began to understand their language, was the extreme licence in conversation—a licence pushed to the limit of most shameless cynicism, and which is the same even with the women; for these people think and talk of nothing but sensual pleasure, and speak openly of everything, having no idea of the euphemisms of our civilised societies, where we use double and veiled words, or terms that are permitted in mentioning things which would appear revolting and cause scandal if plainly expressed....."

daughters of the king of Kāśī, whom Bhīṣma had abducted but whom he was not prepared to marry, as symbolising ladies who could not get male consorts as desired by them ?

That the commentators, being ignorant of the social conditions of the times in which Aśvamedha was practised, have failed to understand the true import of the obscene dialogue is quite clear. For instance they explain वृक्षस्य अग्रम् as तल्पं or मन्त्रकम्. But the passage really refers to the time when the ancestors lived on the branches of trees and indulged in the sexual act on them.

The present writer is informed that relics of such obscene dialogues are still found. On the 8th day in the month of Śrāvapa, every year the villagers, men and women, of a village near Phaltan (about 40 miles from Poona) are known to indulge in such dialogues. Details about this practice are yet to be sifted and finalised.

MISCELLANEA

DATES OF LORD BUDDHA

By

VIDYA DEVI

The following 47 dates of Lord Buddha's Nirvāṇa are known to the students of history from various sources. Will the Buddhist Scholars and Indologists kindly enlighten me on the address noted below or through the press which one to accept and why? They are B. C. 368; 370; 380; 388 (Kern); 412 (Rhys Davids); 477 (Prof. Maxmuller); 478 (L. D. Swamikannu Pillai); 480; (Oldenberg); 482 (Fleet); 483 (Fachow); 485 (Canton tradition); 487 (V. A. Smith in his early history of India); 508 (V. A. Smith in his Asoka); 520 (Mahāvamsa); 529 (Siam tradition); 543 (Dipavamsa and Ceylon tradition), 544 (K. P. Jayaswal); 546; 576; (Tibetan tradition); 633 (Gaya inscription); 638 (Peguan and Chinese date); 653; 752 (Tibetan); 835 (Padmakarpo); 837; 880; 882; 884 (Tibetan dates); 901 (Mangol Chronology) 959; 960 (Giorgi); 1,004 (Sir William Jones); 1,031 (Bailly); 1,036 (Chinese), 1,050 (Fahien); 1,058 (Bhutan); 1,060; 1,310 (Tibetan); 1,332 (Sir James Prinsep); 1,367 (Ain-i-Akbari); 1,616 (Manimekhalai); 1,790; 1,793 (Triveda); 2,135; 2,139; 2,148 and 2,422 (Tibetan and Chinese tradition).

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REVIEWS

MĪMĀMSĀDARŚANA JAĪMINIMĪMĀSĀSŪTRAPĀTHAḤ

Edited by Śrī Kevalānandasarasvatī (Wai, 1949); P. 30 +
281 + 26 + 227, in- 8 (Prājñapāṭhaśālāmaṇḍalagranthamālā).

It is a matter of great astonishment for the European Orientalist to see an Indian Institute, subsisting on private resources, situated in a locality of little importance, remote from the University, and yet publishing under such conditions so difficult a work. It must be said at once that this edition of the Sūtras of the Mīmāṃsā is prepared with admirable care. No pains have been spared to make of it an incomparable instrument of work for the students of this system (evidently more numerous in India than they will ever be in the West)-a system which is so curious and which is perhaps the earliest of all those which ancient India has developed. Really speaking, the Sūtras of Jaimini were made available to us through several current editions of which the handiest is that of the *Anandāśrama Sanskrit Series*. This latter the present editor has taken as basis for his work. The text is found to be taken up in various literary commentaries and in general commentaries also, which quote in part or in whole the Sūtras. It is precisely these earlier editions, the commentaries of Śabarasvāmin, of Kumārila, of Pārthasārathi, of Khaṇḍadeva, and of several others together with unpublished documents, which Śrī Kevalānandasarasvatī has compiled to present this new edition. These various sources, in fact, show considerably serious divergences ; a number of displacements in the sequence and the extent of the Sūtras (cf. *cedanta Sūtras* in particular which the author discusses in his preface) ; there are variants too, in the very text of the Sūtras. All these facts have been pointed out with extreme accuracy, from 27 printed or manuscript sources. The text of the Sūtras itself is accompanied, whenever there is need, by divergent numbering given in this or that ancient commentary. The annotations (which occupy much space) at the bottom of the page give the divergences bearing upon the very contents of the Sūtras,

variants, additions or omissions; wherever it is possible, the editor expresses his opinion on the validity of a particular variant. He takes care to note the titles of the *adhikaraṇas*, which seem to vary considerably enough from one commentary to another.

In short, at the basis of the edition are seen silent work and careful and methodical reading. One would point to the variants, often important, given by the manuscript “*ya*”, preserved in the local *Sūlā*, which has perhaps reflected a tradition which could be traced back to the “Ancient Masters”.

The second part of the work is an alphabetical index of the *Sūtras*. The third part is an index of words, in which are taken into account not only the traditional text but also the smallest divergences previously noted. This part too is a model of precision and extreme care.

It would be desirable to prepare similar repertory for the other darśanas. It can then be clearly seen, as in this case, up to what point the details of the transmission of the “philosophical” *Sūtras* have been floating in the course of history. There is nothing similar to the stability of Pāpinian tradition, for example.

I do not know whether this edition is intended to introduce a publication of all the sources of the *Mīmāṃsā*; a glossary of technical terms would, in particular, be welcome. Finally let us note that the editor has not sought to remove the mystery hovering round the *Samkarṣakāṇḍa*, the so called books 13 and others of Jaimini.

L. Renou

KARPŪRAMAÑJARĪ. Critically edited by Manomohan Ghosh, Calcutta (University), 2nd edition, 1948 pp. 173 in-8.

Mr. Ghosh thought it to be his duty to give a new critical edition of the *Karpūramañjarī*, the text of which has been already published in 1901, by Sten Konow and Lanman, in an edition which has received legitimate appreciation. Surely, the study of the problems relating to Prākṛit has made some progress in

recent times; the meaning of some difficult terms is easier to understand for a well-informed Indian than for a Westerner; finally, the textual basis of an edition can always be ameliorated and in fact Mr. Ghosh has succeeded in collating eight manuscripts in addition to the eleven of the earlier edition (whose collation he has in part prepared again).

Nevertheless Mr. Ghosh would not have, perhaps, undertaken this work, if he had not wanted to illustrate his theses on the question of Prākṛit. They are known through the earlier publications of the author. Mr. Ghosh thinks, contrary to Pischel, that it is not necessary systematically to correct the Prākṛit manuscripts according to the rules of the grammarians; that, on the contrary, one should strive to follow a manuscript as closely as possible, at least in cases where such attitude does not entail any internal contradiction.

Now, he adds, the manuscript 'w' which had been already noticed by Konow and Lanman, should be able to serve as a basis for the restoration of the authentic text. This manuscript attests that Mahārāṣṭrī was unknown to the Prakrit drama of the time of Rājasekhara. Conforming to the rules of the form *Saṭṭaka*, *Karpūramāñjarī* is said to be written in one and the same dialect throughout and this dialect would not be other than *Śaurasenī*. It was in a subsequent epoch that Māhārāṣṭrī was introduced in the drama. Let us recall the theory of Mr. Ghosh regarding the Māhārāṣṭrī as "a later phase of Śaurasenī". It follows that Konow and Lanman might be quite wrong in the restoration of the versified parts of a special dialect, distinct from 'Śaurasenī' whose use the most ancient theoreticians, beginning from Bharata, do not advocate.

One thing is certain that there is something to be recommended in this argument. Without being a *lakṣyaikacakṣuṣka* like Mr. Ghosh, one may admit that the editors have, formerly, corrected excessively, manipulated too freely, the Prākṛit manuscripts, those of the drama in particular, with a view to adapting them to the theory. The new *Saṭṭaka* discovered and edited very carefully by Mr. Upadhye, *Candralekhā*, indeed seems, despite certain contrary tendencies, to attest the use of

mainly of a single dialect throughout. However, it must be recognized that the arguments of Mr. Ghosh are not all so sound. A manuscript such as 'w', however ancient it may be, is removed from the times of Rājasekhara by too many centuries to claim that it reflects the linguistic usage of these times. Though on the other hand, it is true that Bharata does not mention the classical distinction between Māhārāṣṭrī and Śaurasenī, the little treatise on grammar, incorporated in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, indeed conforms with what we call Māhārāṣṭrī, while the *dhruvas*, which he mentions in another chapter — the pieces meant for singing — resemble what we call Śaurasenī. How to make use, under these conditions, of Bharata's evidence and compare it with that of the more recent theoreticians? If the *Karpūrmañjarī* had been composed in a single dialect, would it not be more reasonable to suppose that that dialect was the 'principal prākṛit', the one which is at the basis of Vararuci, — that is to say at least a kind of Māhārāṣṭrī, similar to, if not identical with, that which Hemacandra later taught expressly? It is indeed also "a general prākṛit", which Mr. Upadhye recognizes in *Candralekḥā*. He sees in it neither Māhārāṣṭrī nor Śaurasenī, but that which conforms more or less closely to the description of Vararuci or (if one wishes) of Bharata. I admit that it would be repugnant to denote this common Prākṛit as Māhārāṣṭrī, but I doubt whether it could be characterised as Śaurasenī.

These, however, are, I am prepared to admit, difficult problems the solution of which will require a redoubling of efforts. Let us thank Mr. Ghosh for having given us in his usual thorough manner a convenient edition, well-restored and furnished with valuable grammatical observations and suggestions; the final annotations could have been more abundant, in view of the difficulties of interpretation contained in this text which is full of vulgarisms and local allusions. But even as they are, they are welcome and are written with precision and competence.

L. Renou

KOŪHALA, LĪLĀVAĪ, A ROMANTIC KĀVYA IN MĀHĀ-RĀSTRĪ PRĀKRIT. Critically edited for the first time ... by A. N. Upadhye. Bombay (Bhāratiya Vidya, Bhavana), 1949 (Singhi Jain Ser. No. 31); pp. XXVI+87+382 in - 8.

The narrative literature of Jain inspiration grows without respite; it surpasses largely in mass, if not in interest, that which is accessible to us on the Brahmanic or the Buddhistic side. Nevertheless, as is remarked by Jina Vijayamuni in the interesting preface he has added to the present work, one had no longer found any Prākṛit Kāvya of non-Jain inspiration since the distant times of the discovery of the Setubandha or Gāṇḍavaha. In this field of studies, it is an event to bring out a poem from the same source, namely *Līlāvai* or *Līlāvati*. The author is very nearly unknown; even his name, Koūhala (=Skt Kutūhala?), is not well-established, but from the works that he mentions or knows and those in which he in his turn is referred to, he should be placed towards 800 of our era.

The general inspiration of the work is derived from the *Bṛhatkathā* which, as is known to-day through the works of Dr. Alsdorf and of Dr. Upadhye himself, has developed quite a Jaina ramification. The hero is none other than the king Hāla of the dynasty of the Sātavāhanas and the author narrates that king's expedition (not confirmed historically) against the king Śīlamegha of Ceylon. But it is not a question of authentic history in this Poetic romance, despite the author's attempt at connecting the story with some specific site, namely, the mouth of the Godāvarī and the sacred place of Bhīmeśvara. It is a legend of the most conventional type, and aims at illustrating the kathā as it is defined by Rudraṭa: an account in verse (interspersed with rare and brief prose passages), in gāthās, without division into sections, and consisting, like the *Kādambarī*, of narratives within narratives, which are given in an order contrary to the chronological order and which are put in the mouth of the persons other than the principal hero:

The dialect is *Mahārāṣṭrī*, with a few rare words of *deśī* origin. One of the final gāthās affords a proof for the above statement : *marahatṭha-deśi-bhāsā*. As it is for the first time that such a linguistic indication appears in an ancient text and on the other hand, the dialect appears to be well-established, one could now, without doubt, see more clearly the relations of this literary language with the *māhārāṣṭrī* of the grammarians. The great controversy about the relations between literary texts and theoreticians, revived by the recent researches of Luigia Nitti, will find fresh matter in the *Līlāvāi*.

Dr. Upadhye sets forth all such questions and discusses them with a real fund of information in the lengthy introduction which he has prefixed to the edition of the *Līlāvāi*. He shows his capabilities when he collects together all that is known about the ancient texts bearing the name *Līlāvāi* (the well known work on mathematics is not the only one) or again when he describes the literary work of Hāla, the topographical and archaeological problems raised by Saptagodāvara ; or again when he takes up the general question of Prākṛit, not without giving, in many cases, his own views on the subject. On the other hand, he gives us here but a choice of grammatical observations, inviting the reader to draw, from the final glossary, material to trace for himself the morphology of *Māhārāṣṭrī*. This glossary is complete and prepared with great care. Who can however, be better suited than Dr. Upadhye to complete this linguistic picture ? Let us hope that he does so on some other occasion.

As for the understanding of the text, an English translation would have certainly helped the student. In the absence of that, the student will be profited by reading the Sanskrit gloss, of an unascertainable date and author, which renders literally, like a *chāyā*, most of the gāthās of Koūhala ; the lacunae have been filled, in a similar style, by the editor himself. Sixty well-packed pages of annotations point out the grammatical difficulties, give variants and contain a succinct analysis of the poem.

It is superfluous to recall that the entire work is executed by a master-hand. After so many other publications, which succeed one another in a rapid rythm, this edition of *Līlāvāi* firmly establishes the name of Dr. Upadhye in the front rank of the present day Jain and Prākṛit scholars in India.

BIMAL CHURN LAW, SOME JAIN CANONICAL SŪTRAS,
Bombay, 1949; P. XV + 213 in-8 (Bombay Branch Royal
Asiatic Society Monograph No. 2).

Dr. Bimal Churn Law is well-known to the world of orient-
lists through an already pretty long series of erudite works,
chiefly in the domain of Buddhism. Hither and thither he has
also touched on Jainism, in particular in his book on *Mahāvīra*
and in *India as described in Early Texts of Buddhism and*
Jainism. The merits of these publications are well known: they
are careful statements of facts and extensive accumulations of
materials, in which the descriptive element has a preponderance
over the interpretative one. As they are, these works are very
valuable and *Some Jaina Canonical Sūtras* will occupy a worthy
place in the series. The author has examined the principal
Sūtras of the Jain Canon (Śvetāmbara) and has clearly brought
out the facts of the doctrine, geographical, historical and
legendary data, and various other cultural items. He does not
present a systematic analysis of all these, but emphasises only
certain traits, leaving other traits in the dark. It is thus that
several texts to which, rightly or wrongly, some importance
is attached, are dismissed in two or three pages, while the
Uttarādhyayana, which is universally regarded as of major
interest, is treated in nearly 40 pages. But this lack of
proportion does not affect the importance of Dr. Law's book
which lies in the fact that he has taken great pains to glean up a
large number of facts for the first time, to unravel, within a small
compass, a vast literature, still little known, and thus to bring
about its integration into the general study of Indianism. Except
for the final chapter entitled "Principles of Jainism", which
will be in other respects welcome, there has been no attempt at
synthesis.

The selection of Dr. Law is very wide: it includes the *Āṅgas*
in totality (the twelfth not to be naturally taken into account),
almost all the *Upāṅgas* (those of an exclusively scientific character
have been excluded); it gives, among the remaining texts, the
two *Nisīhas*, the important section of *Chedasūtras*, known under
the name of *Kalpasūtra*, the first three *Mūlas* (which are the only

ones about which tradition is definite), finally the isolated texts; it wipes the dust off the *prakīrṇakas*. The author has even gone beyond the proper canonical literature, and has supplied a detailed analysis of the *Tattvārthasūtra*, which occupies, as is well known, a distinct place in the dogmatic literature. Finally a geographical catalogue of Jainism, the *Vividhatīrthakalpa*, forms the subject of an exposition which will be as useful for the iconography as for topography.

In fine, the work is rich and will be of service. The final index would have deserved to be considerably enlarged.

L. Renou.

ASTĀNGAHRDAYASAMHITĀ With the *Vākyapradīpikā* commentary of Parameśvara, Part 1 (Adhyāyas 1-10 of *Sūtrasthāna*) edited by Vayaskara N. S. Mooss, Published by the Proprietor, Vaidyasarathy Press, Kottayam, 1950, Price Rs. 3 / -, pp. xi + 1-202

The *Aṣṭāṅgahrdaya Samhita* (AHR) of Vāgbhaṭa has been the most popular text-book of *Āyurveda* for a very long time, as is evident from the number of commentaries written on it. The editor of the *Nirṇaya Sagar* edition of AHR (Bombay 1939) has enumerated not less than 34 commentaries on this work, some of which were written by scholars in South India. The present work, namely the commentary *Vākyapradīpikā* by Parameśvara, is one of those works that were composed by scholars in Kerala.

The editor of the work has based his text of AHR on four complete MSS and this fact gives the editor an opportunity of making a comparative study of the original text as it has come down in northern and southern MSS. The editor has recorded in footnotes the variants that became available in the MSS. A casual comparison shows that the South Indian MSS occasionally disclose more or less important variations. The text of the *Vākyapradīpikā* is based on a single MS which contains the commentary on *Sūtrasthāna* only. A printed book of AHR with this commentary printed in the Kerala script was also available for consultation in constituting the text of the commentary. According to the editor, the *Vākyapradīpikā* extends to the *Sūtra*-, *Śārīra*- and *Nidāna*-sections of AHR. The author Parameśvara, however, seems to have commented on the whole work. The editor was fortunately successful in discovering a MS containing the commentary on the *Cikitsāsthāna* upto the chapter on *Madātyaya-cikitsā*. The commentator Parameśvara belonged to the village *Aśvattha* on the bank of the river *Nilā* in Kerala. As for the date of the commentator, it has been inferred that he must have flourished later than the *Koḷamba* year 600 i. e. 1425 A. D., since *Vāsudeva* composed a commentary called *Anvayamālā* on AHR

before the Kolamba year 600. For, had the Vākya-pradīpikā existed prior to the Anvaya-mālā, the composition of the latter work, which is in the form of simple explanation, would have been superfluous.

The commentator gives clear explanations of the text in a lucid style. Wherever he met with discordant views of other commentators, he gives his own explanations in clear terms. While describing the different medicinal substances and articles of food, he gives Kerala equivalents to their names. Thus the commentary may also be helpful for the comparative study of indigenous herbs. The commentator appears to be well-versed in the medical science, grammar, rhetorics and Vedic literature. According to him the word *apūrvavaidya* in the opening verse means Mahādeva, but at the same time he takes it to denote Buddha as an alternative explanation. He says: अथवा वेत्तिती वेयः । तस्य धातोः कर्मपक्षत्वात् सर्वं जानातीति । तस्मात् सर्वज्ञ इति सिध्यति । 'सर्वज्ञः सुगतो बुद्धः' इति च । तेन तस्मै बुद्धमुनये नमोऽस्तु । अयमाचार्यो बुद्धभक्त इति प्रसिद्धिः ।

The publication of the available commentaries, not only of the AHR, but also of all the important Āyurvedic text-books will be helpful for the critical study of Sanskrit literature in general and of the Āyurvedic literature in particular. A comparative study of the various commentaries would no doubt have a bearing on the critical analysis of the original text. In the commentary on 1. 5. 18 Arunadatta quotes 2½ verses from the Aṣṭāṅgasamgraha (AS) and comments on them. He says: संग्रहोक्तमेव ग्रन्थमिमं केचिद्वापि पठन्ति । यथा पानीयं न तु पानीयं । etc. Hemādri does not refer to these verses. The author of Vākya-pradīpikā treats these verses as regular part of the text. The different explanations given by the commentators are an additional source of critical study. e. g. 1. 5. 27 : इस्तिन्याः स्थैर्यकृद्वाढमुष्णं त्वैकशफं लघु । The editor of the Nirṇaya Sagar edition has divided the verse in the following way : इस्तिन्याः स्थैर्यकृत् and वाढमुष्णं त्वैकशफं लघु । In this he is led by Arunadatta who reads वाढं with उष्णं. Hemādri seems to have read वाढं with स्थैर्यकृत्. The Vākya-pradīpikā follows Hemādri. The half verse विष्टम्भिनी यवसुरा etc. (1. 5. 70) is printed in the Bombay edition, because Hemādri commented upon it. Arunadatta has not

commented on it. The Vākya-pradīpikā also ignores it. Some minor variants are also occasionally met with : (e. g. 7. 5 ध्यामकाथानि Bombay edn., द्यावकाथानि Kerala ; 7. 13 स्वेद्वेषथुमांस्त्रस्तो Bombay, स्वेद्वेषथुमान् स्तब्धो Kerala ; 7. 37 मत्स्यनिस्तलनस्नेहे Bombay, मत्स्यनिस्तलितस्नेहे Kerala. Arunadatta and Hemādri explain : मत्स्या निस्तल्यन्ते भुज्ज्यन्ते येन स्नेहेन सः मत्स्यनिस्तलनस्नेहः. The Vākya-pradīpikā explains : निस्तलितमस्येनावशिष्टेन स्नेहेन).

The editor holds that both the AHR and AS were composed by one and the same author, i. e. Vāgbhaṭa, that Vāgbhaṭa first wrote AS and then composed AHR with a view to attaining brevity. He has based his conclusion on the following grounds : (1) Indu, the commentator of AS as well as other commentators of AHR consider the same Vāgbhaṭa as the author of AS and AHR. (2) The style of both these works is the same. (3) There is almost no difference of expression between them.

The opinion on this Vāgbhaṭa problem has not been unanimous for a long time. The view that AS and AHR were composed by two different authors has been maintained by scholars like Huth, Hoernle, Jolly, Keith, Winternitz, Dasagupta and others. Many Indian scholars hold the opposite view. Recently Prof. Dinesh Chandra Bhattacharya has made a strong plea in favour of the identity of Vāgbhaṭa (Vide his article *Date and Works of Vāgbhaṭa the Physician*, ABORI XXVII, 1948, pp. 112-127), especially on the ground that Indu, Cakrapāṇidatta, Candranandana, Nīścalakara, Arunadatta and other commentators definitely considered one and the same Vāgbhaṭa as the author of both the works. This argument cannot be a conclusive proof. These authors were more or less distant from both the Vāgbhaṭas in point of time and place, and hence might have mistaken the two Vāgbhaṭas for one due to the identity of their names. The second argument of the editor about the style cannot be decisive, even granting that the style of both the works is the same. The third argument that there is almost no difference of expression between them is not on firm foundation. In a number of points there does exist difference of expression. It is not necessary here to record all the arguments in favour of the two authors theory. The genealogy etc. given by the author of AS, the open

statement of the author of AHR of having used AS, the reference to AS and AHR by the names Vṛddha Vāgbhaṭa and Vāgbhaṭa respectively by the commentators, I-tsing's indirect reference to AS, the reference to AHR in Arabic and Tibetan sources are some of the reasons that have been advanced in favour of the separate authorship. One of the most important points in this behalf is the difference of expression between these two works. For example, AS (Śārīrasthāna) lays down the 16th year in the case of the wife and 25th in the case of husband as the proper age for begetting a son. AHR (Śārīra 1. 8), on the other hand, recommends the 16th and 20th year respectively. Now it would definitely be more reasonable to say that the two authors being rather distant in time naturally made these different statements, than to say that the same author wrote one thing in his previous book and shortly afterwards changed his mind and stated the other in the next book. This also applies to many other cases of difference. In view of these and other considerations we find it difficult to agree with the editor's view in this respect.

The editor is to be congratulated on the laudable undertaking of publishing the Vākya-pradīpikā commentary and it is hoped the rest of the portion will soon be published. The editor is an energetic worker in the field of Āyurvedic research and publication and everybody interested in the subject will wish him Godspeed. The printing and get-up of the work are satisfactory. As for the printing of the Sanskrit text, one suggestion seems to be necessary, namely that the South Indian practice of writing ॐ for ॐ is unscientific and unsuited to the general Sanskrit reader. It should, therefore, be discontinued in future.

C. G. Kashikar

CIKITSĀKALIKĀ of Tisāṭācārya, edited by Vayaskara N. S. Mooss, with a Preface by P. K. Gode, M.A., published by the Proprietor, Vaidyasārathy Press, Kottayam, S. India, 1950, Devanagari characters, pp. xvi+80, price Rs. 2/-, Vaidyasārathy publications, Book No. 10

Mr. N. S. Mooss is to be congratulated for adding yet another book to the Vaidyasārathy series devoted to the publication of

books on Āyurveda. As usual, he has edited the work along more or less scientific lines. For editing the text he has consulted five MSS giving the original text, two of which are from the Bhandarkar Institute, Poona, one from the T. M. S. S. M. Library, Tanjore, one in his own possession and the last from a private collection of Mr. V. R. Bhatt. The last two are apparently written in Malayalam script and others are probably written in Devanāgarī. The variants are given in foot-notes. The book is neatly printed but, as pointed out while reviewing another of his works in this very number, the editor is inclined to print ऋ in place of both ॠ and ॡ. This practice, even though familiar in South India, is not scientific and not acceptable to all others. In his short Sanskrit preface the editor has pointed out the peculiar character of the book. Prof. Gode has in his Preface dwelt at length on the comparative chronology of the author Tisāta.

One is naturally inclined to enquire whether any other edition of the work was previously published and if so what relation the present edition bears to that. It has also to be seen if the available material has properly been made use of. The editor states that in spite of many efforts he could not succeed in procuring MSS of the commentary on this work by Candrāṭa, the son of Tisāta the author. In this connection it may be stated that Candrāṭa's complete commentary on Cikitsākalikā was published as early as 1926 A. D. by Kaviraj Narendranath Mitra (published, with Hindi translation of the original text by Jayadeva Vidyālankara, by Mitra Āyurvedic Pharmacy, Lahore). There is no reference to this work in the present edition. Kaviraj Mitra has based his excellent edition on three MSS (of the commentary) about which unfortunately he gives no information beyond stating that they were procured through the kindness of Vaidya Yadavji Trikamji Acharya of Bombay. It will be a boon to scholars of ancient Indian culture in general and to Āyurvedists in particular if Sanskrit texts of Āyurveda are printed on modern scientific lines. It has to be borne in mind that simply taking one or more MSS of a work and printing the book without any critical insight does justice neither to the author nor to the science to which the book pertains. It is a healthy sign that in recent years the scientific outlook has begun to be

maintained, but it is now essential to see that no Sanskrit text comes out unless it is scientifically prepared.

The Cikitsākalikā is a complete text-book of Āyurveda in the sense that it deals, even though briefly, with all the eight parts of Āyurveda. The book is in a versified form and the author has employed a number of metres in its composition. The author in his introductory verses says that the works of Suśruta and others are difficult for ordinary people to understand, whereas the present text can be understood by the ignorant and the intelligent alike. Candrāṭa's commentary is written in a simple and lucid style, is very helpful for understanding the text and gives a pleasant reading. He often gives the names of medicinal stuffs in the regional language.

The work of Tisāṭa and Candrāṭa's commentary on it were first made known to the world by Dr. J. Jolly through an article (*Zur Quellenkunde der indischen Medizin*, ZDMG LX, pp. 413-468, 1906) in which he gave the Sanskrit text of 1-47 verses in Devanāgarī characters, Candrāṭa's commentary on the same in Roman characters and German translation of the verses along with critical notes. He based his work on five MSS (two from Berlin, one from Oxford, one from Jammu and one from the Deccan College, Poona).

The Lahore edition gives complete text and commentary and contains 401 verses; the South Indian edition gives 408 verses. On close comparison it is found that the following 7 verses in the present edition are not found in the Lahore edition :- 189 (in Visarpacikitsā), 217-18 (in Śvitracikitsā), 250 (in Chardiścikitsā) and 311-13 (in Vātacikitsā). Since the text of Cikitsākalikā is provided with a comprehensive commentary running parallel to the text by Candrāṭa, the author's son himself, it naturally forms the most important means for fixing the original text and at once minimises the significance of consulting and comparing a number of MSS of the text written later on. A study of the foot-notes in the present edition reveals the fact, even though the editor has not referred to it, that its text is based on the MS ॐ (the author's own MS) and all the variants in other MSS are recorded in foot-notes. In doing so, no attention seems to have been paid to the relative value of the MSS, as a result of which better readings

have sometimes been relegated to the foot-notes. The editor's adherence to his own MS goes even to the extent of adopting such reading as does not suit the metre. Thus he prefers प्रदरपवनव्याधि श्वित्रक्षयक्षणादान्यता whereas two MSS, agreeing with Candrāṭa, read ° श्वित्रक्षयक्षणा ° which fits well in the Hariṇī metre. It is needless to quote cases where better and genuine readings are given a place in the foot-notes.

In the Lahore edition the Vātarogacikitsā is included in the chapter on Śalyatantra. The editor, feeling this discrepancy, has tried to justify the position by saying that the Bastiyantra which is one of the yantras prescribed in the Śalyatantra, is chiefly used in Vāta-diseases. The present edition gives Vātacikitsā separately between Kṛmicikitsā and Kāyacikitsā. Candrāṭa's tradition has, however, to be accepted as authoritative.

Prof. Gode has discussed in his Preface the comparative chronology of Tisāṭa and has mentioned "about 900 A. D.", the date proposed by Prof. D. C. Bhattacharya. In the colophon of some MSS, Tisāṭa is described as the son of Vāgbhaṭa. But as Prof. Gode has pointed out, the colophons of MSS are not dependable, unless they are contemporary. In his introductory verse, Tisāṭa pays obeisance, along with others, to his father by saying पितुश्च पादात् which Candrāṭa renders as आयुर्वेदाधिप्रतरणपोतपात्रा पितुः पादा- णां नाम्. So neither the author directly mentions the name of his father, nor the grandson of his grandfather. Had Vāgbhaṭa really been the person referred to as "पितुः", his name should have been directly mentioned. There is one more point, viz. that Candrāṭa in his commentary refers to Vāgbhaṭa and Vṛddha Bāhada. One would scarcely expect him to refer to Vāgbhaṭa in such a formal manner, if he were his grandfather. A comparative study of both the text and commentary with Aṣṭāṅgasamgraha, Aṣṭāṅgaśrīdaya and other important Āyurvedic texts would throw important light not only on the relation of Tisāṭa and Candrāṭa to Vāgbhaṭa but also to other medical authors. It is hoped that Āyurvedic physicians would realise the significance of such study not only for the Āyurvedic science but also for the whole Sanskrit literature. They would be rendering a real service to the cause of learning if they follow up this line of study with the necessary application of historical method.

ŚAHAD : MOM (Hindi) by Sri Ramesh Bedi, Ayurveda-lankara, Bharatiya Dravyaguna Granthamala, Published by the Himalaya Herbal Institute, Gurukula Kangri, Hardwar U. P. Foreword by Dr. Sadgopal, Department of Industrial Chemistry, Hindu University Banaras. Asvin Samvat 2006 (December 1949) Price Rs. 3/- pp. 26 + 212, Size $4\frac{1}{2}'' \times 7\frac{1}{4}''$.

The energetic author of the work under review, Sri Ramesh Bedi, has been rendering very valuable service to the cause of learning by composing scholarly monographs on Indian plants. He has already published historical and scientific studies of *Lahasun*, *Pyaj*, *Tulsi*, *Sonth*, *Dehati Ilaj*, *Triphalā* and *Anjir* and has now published another one on a very important subject. He has very ably dealt with the various aspects of the subject of honey, e. g. old and new methods of extraction, quality, colour, and taste of honey, medical uses etc. He has also traced the history of honey in Sanskrit literature and also in other literatures. In short he has said everything pertaining to honey. Original texts have been quoted wherever possible in support of statements.

At the present juncture when attempts are being made to give genuine Indian set-up to Indian life in all aspects, books like the present one are certainly welcome. As said by Dr. Sadgopal in his foreword "The present publication by Sri Ramesh Bedi is highly educative, interesting and instructive, explaining the technical details in a simple and yet convincing manner even to a layman, while to a student of science and technology, this will prove to be of more than common standard." The book is written in lucid Hindi. Even though Hindi has been adopted as the national language of India, it is yet time when it can be understood by one and all. It is therefore essential that such books be published also in regional languages of India for the benefit of the general public.

Sri Bedi has an ambitious scheme of publishing a large number of monographs of this kind. His energy remains unabated even though he had to change his place of residence due to the partition of India. He is serving a real national cause and it is hoped men of wealth will come forward to help him and share the cultural and educational responsibility.

C. G. Kashikar

THE PROBLEM OF SANSKRIT-TEACHING (संस्कृतशिक्षण-
विश्लेषः) — [By—Prof. G. S. Huprikar, M.A., B.T., Professor
of Sanskrit, Rajaram College, Kolhapur,—published by the
Bharat Book-Stall, Kolhapur City, S. M. Country (India),
Price Rs. 12/8/- pages 700].

The main object of the work, under review is to make a comparative examination of the Eastern and Western methodology of language-teaching in general and of Sanskrit teaching in particular with a view to place the teaching of Sanskrit in Schools and Colleges on a sounder and a more permanent basis in free India. This ambitious attempt is timely and praiseworthy and has been carried with skill and mastery over the subject that does ample credit to the author.

Till very recently, the teaching of Sanskrit both at the High-school and College stages was carried on, on Western lines; and the old traditional methods of pāṭha-Śālās and Śāstric learning, which were found useful for several centuries in this country, were, at once, brushed aside as obsolete and impracticable. They were denied even a chance of a fair trial. Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar wrote his famous two text-books for the teaching of Sanskrit in the Secondary Schools in the years 1864 and 1868 and adopted the Grammar-translation method of teaching Greek and Latin according to the plan of Dr. Haug. This method held full sway, at least in Mahārāṣṭra, for over half a century. The establishment of the Training Colleges in this province, however, changed the outlook of language-teaching in general and it received new light from the modern methods based on educational psychology and on the theories of language-teaching. But Sanskrit remained unaffected till Prof. V. P. Bokil, M.A., S.T.C.D., devised a new method of teaching Sanskrit based on the findings of Dr. Rouse and Mr. Harold E. Palmer, which he has set forth in his '*New Approach to Sanskrit*' (1942). But even in the case of this '*New approach*' of Prof. Bokil, a thorough acquaintance with the old methods (not to speak of their application) remained outside the scope of the work.

It is satisfying to find that Prof. Huprikar in the present book gives a very good idea of the Eastern methods, the Khandānvaya

and the Daṇḍānvaya etc., compares them with the Western methods, shows the points of similarity and dissimilarity between them, discusses the differences between the Eastern and Western attitudes, states that the Eastern methods are more suited to the intensive and the Western methods to the extensive study and comes to the conclusion that a happy combination of the intensive and the extensive methods of study is a desideratum.

Some of the salient features of this book may be noted as under—(1) the discussion of the correspondence between the Eastern principles of शाब्दबोध and the Western principles of language-teaching. (2) A general survey of the Sanskrit Śāstras like the न्याय, मीमांसा, अलंकार and व्याकरण with a view to demonstrate how these, also, are conducive to the Linguistics. (3) Statement of the common principles of methodology in the East and the West and their application to the different Śāstras (4) The Intellectual approach to the Śāstras and an aesthetic approach to the काव्यस. (5) The खण्डान्वय method in its relation to the पद, वाक्य and प्रमाण. (6) The practical approach of the वैयाकरणस to grammar according to the nature of Sanskrit language. (7) Application of the theories of पद, वाक्य and प्रमाण to साहित्य and Vedānta. (8) Psychological approach to the process of शाब्दबोध (अभिधा, लक्षणा, व्यञ्जना) and its educational implications. (9) Limitations of the historical methods and (10) A detailed summary of the whole discussion in Sanskrit, given in the beginning of the book, (in 92 pages) for the benefit of Sanskrit Pandits ignorant of English.

The author has touched the practical aspect of teaching by suggesting reforms in the Sanskrit studies in the Universities and by discussing an ideal syllabus in Sanskrit.

To conclude, the author has spared no pains in making his attempt as thorough-going and as complete as he could and has neither minded the labour and the cost of writing and publishing such a big volume in these days of general financial stringency. It is a labour of love in the cause of our sacred language the only source of our cultural heritage. It is, therefore, up to every lover of Sanskrit to extend to the book every kind of encouragement and support that it merits.

K. N. Watave

YOGA (Journal of the Yoga Institute, Santa Cruz, Bombay 25)
Vol. V, No. 1 (March 1950) edited by Shri Yogendra,
the Director of the Yoga Institute.

We welcome the reappearance of *Yoga* after an interval of eight years. Shri Yogendra, the Director of the Yoga Institute, Bombay, started this important Journal in 1933 for disseminating practical and scientific knowledge of Yoga traditions and culture. Four volumes of this journal were published by him between 1935 and 1942 but he had to suspend its publication owing to difficulties created by the great world war. After a heroic struggle with these difficulties Shri Yogendra has not only revived this journal but has provided a permanent Headquarters to the Yoga Institute of Santacruz, Bombay, where he has been carrying on the different activities of his Institute such as (1) *Academic Researches in Yoga*, (2) *Scientific Investigations pertaining to Yoga*, (3) *Maintenance of a Yoga Library*, (4) *Academy for training students in Yoga*, (5) *A Health Clinic* for the treatment of patients and (6) *A Publishing Department* for the publication of literature on Yoga. The *Report of the Yoga Institute* for 1944-47 published in the issue of the *Yoga* before us shows not only the high idealism of Shri Yogendra but also his fearless tenacity and perseverance in fighting against difficulties encountered by him in the day-to-day conduct of his Institute, which is a unique experiment in the fulfilment of Yoga objectives in this country. We hope that lovers of Yoga will generously help the activities of the Yoga Institute which are being carried out by Shri Yogendra and his band of workers in a spirit of sacrifice and service.

P. K. Gode

ĀGAMONUṆ DIGDARŚANA, by Prof. Hiralal Rasikdas Kapadia,
published by V. G. Shah, Bhavnagar, 1948, pages 240;
Price Rs. 5-8-0.

Prof. Kapadia, whose study of the Jaina canonical works is so well-known, has given in this Gujarati book a short account of the Śvetāmbara Jaina canon. The work is divided into 22 chapters. The first chapter gives a critical introduction to the canon, and chapters II-XVIII are devoted to various individual scriptural texts. Chapter XIX mentions those texts which are no more extant, but are known from literary references. Chapter XX is devoted to the lost Drṣṭivāda, which formed the twelfth Aṅga of the Śvetāmbara canon and contained the ancient texts known as the 14 Pūrvas. This chapter also is mainly based on literary references. Chapter XXI, briefly refers to the Digambara view about these canonical texts, and the last that is, XXII chapter mentions the critical literature about the Āgamas. The book seems to have been written with a view to supplying to the general Gujarati reader a handy monograph on the Jaina canon, and we may say without reservation that the effort is successful.

Bhogilal J. Sandesara

HISTORY OF SRI VIJAYA. By K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, M. A.
Publishers : University of Madras 1949. Pages 157. Price
Rs. 10/—.

This work formed the Sir William Meyer lectures for the year 1946-47. Till 1918, when George Coedes published his account of this ancient Indian Empire in Sumatra and its neighbourhood, even its name was unknown. Prof. Nilakanta Sastri, who has himself contributed much to the elucidation of many knotty points in the history of this forgotten empire, takes stock here, of the results of research on this subject since 1918.

Sri Vijaya came into existence in the last quarter of the 7th century A. D. Sumatra and the Malaya Peninsula formed its core, though, at various times, it stretched from Nicobar to Borneo. In the 8th Century there arose the Kingdom of Sailendra in Central Java. The relations between Sri Vijaya and this new power appear to have become very cordial, and together, they spread their power for a short time as far as Champa and Kambuja. About the middle of that century a Sailendra Prince came to occupy the throne of Sri Vijaya and thus the two powers practically became one.

We have notices of this powerful empire in the 9th and 10th centuries from Arab travellers. Masudi says "This empire has an enormous population and troops innumerable, voyaging in the most rapid vessel one cannot go round all these isles in 2 years". The Chinese considered Sri Vijaya as a half-way house in intellectual and commercial matters between their country and India. In fact Itsing advised his countrymen to study Sanskrit in Sri Vijaya before going to India for higher studies.

In the 11th Century Sri Vijaya came into conflict with another maritime power - the Colas of South India. The reason for this conflict is unknown. It may be that both wanted the mastery of the Bay of Bengal. Rajendra Cola led a naval expedition, in the course of which, he attacked the capital Sri Vijaya and captured its king as prisoner. The outcome of the Cola success however was not an expansion of Cola power in Sumatra, but the weakening of Sri Vijaya. In the 12th and 13th centuries according to Arab and Chinese sources Java had become more important. The next

decisive stroke that brought about the fall of Sri Vijaya was delivered by Java. By 1286 the Maharaja of Sumatra had become a subordinate of the Maharajadhiraja of Java. The third attack came from the Siamese Kingdom of Sukhodaya, which absorbed the northern possessions of Sri Vijaya in the Malay peninsula. The final stroke came from the Arabs, who became the true inheritors of the commercial prosperity of Sri Vijaya.

The last chapter of the book deals with Sri Vijaya art, which in the beginning, was influenced by South India and especially from Amaravati. Later when Sailendra rulers from Java began to rule in Sumatra, they brought in Gupta, Nalanda and Pala influences. The appendix contains 16 Sanskrit and Tamil inscriptions with their English translations and is followed by a bibliography, index, 2 maps of South East Asia, and a few illustrations. Prof. Sastri has laid students of the history of Greater India under a deep debt of gratitude by his able reconstruction of the history of Sri Vijaya.

G. S. Dikshit,

CORRESPONDENCE

In his interesting paper on the 'References to the Custom of Holding Grass in the mouth as a token of surrender in Indian and Foreign Sources' (*B. M. Barua Com. Vol.*, pp. 60-65) Sri P.K. Gode has quoted two references supplied to him by Dr. A. D. Pusalkar from the *Dūtavākya* of Bhāsa as follows:

(१) वयं किल तृणान्तराभिभाषकाः ।

(२) तृणान्तराभिभाष्यो भवान् ।

Dr. Pusalkar translates these as follows:—

1. We have come to speak about things other than grass.

2. You are fit to be spoken to (after) making you keep grass in your mouth.

I am afraid the above does not seem to be rightly understood. The custom of holding a straw in the mouth (मुखे तृण discussed by Mr. Gode was different from तृणान्तराभिभाषण i. e. talking with a blade of grass held in between. In Hindi poetry we get references to both:—

तृण जो दन्ततर धरहिं मारत न सबल कोय ।

“ No one having strength kills another who holds a straw between the teeth. ” I am not finding the name of the poet, but think the verse belongs to the sixteenth century. It is the first line of a verse said to be written by a poet as an appeal on behalf of cows submitted to Emperor Akbar. The custom of holding a blade of straw (मुखे तृण) was a sign of expressing submission or humility.

The other reference to तृणान्तराभिभाषण is in the *Rāmāyaṇa* of Tulasidāsa, a poet who lived in the sixteenth century and passed away in 1623 A. D.

तृणधरि ओट रहत बैदेही ।

Sitā speaks to Rāvaṇa after holding a straw as a screen in between. This is how the line has been explained by all the commentators and has been traditionally understood. I think this reference clinches the meaning. Sitā as a chaste woman did not want to speak to Rāvaṇa as he had impure thoughts

towards her. But once when Rāvaṇa threatened to take her life, she had to speak and then she used this device of holding a blade of grass as a token-screen between herself and the demon King. The custom implies contempt for one against whom the blade of grass is held.

It will thus be seen that the meaning given by Gaṇapati Sastri¹ is correct, i. e. fit to be addressed by holding a blade of grass as a (token) screen, and not directly to be conversed to. Obviously, the meanings put upon the passages by Woolner and Sarup and by Dr. Pusalkar are not correct and they have missed the real import of the words. I would translate the passages as follows:—

1. We will speak to you verily by holding a grass blade in between (as a screen) (वृणान्तर).

2. You are fit to be spoken to only by the custom of holding a grass-blade in between us two.

The purport to this formality was that the speaker addressed the second party not direct, but through the agency of the grass-blade, and the second party only overheard what was said. The grass-blade symbolises a person and becomes the second person, whereas the actual man to be spoken to is thus made a third person. There was implicit in this custom the idea of expressing contempt for the person against whom the grass blade was held.

V. S. Agrawala

¹ वृणेन, अन्तरं व्यवधानं येषामभिभाष्येण सह ते वृणान्तराः, वृणान्तराः सन्तोऽभिभाषकाः वृणान्तराभिभाषकाः । वृणमन्तरतः रुत्वेव त्वमस्कामभिभाष्यो न साक्षादित्यर्थः । श्री गणपतिशास्त्री as quoted by Dr. Pusalkar.

OBITUARY NOTICES

PROF. DR. BENI MADHAV BARUA

The news of the sad and sudden death of Prof. Beni Madhav Barua, Head of the Department of Pāli in Calcutta University, in March 1948, was a great shocking surprise to me, for I had met him at a function in the Mahābodhi Society's Hall, Calcutta, just two days before I read the news in Calcutta when I was leaving the same for Shantiniketan. I had found him quite hale and hearty when he was giving me, in the then-broken-down condition of my health, a sound advice about the medical treatment which he would like me to take from some Āyurvedic physician.

Prof. Beni Madhav Barua had been working in the field of Oriental Studies—especially Pāli—for over twenty-five years, and he was considered to be a sound scholar with his unrivalled knowledge of the subject. He was always recognised to be a great authority on Buddhist literature, Buddhist philosophy and Religion. His philosophical bias was early known by his Extension Lectures at the Calcutta University now incorporated in his 'Prolegomena to a History of the Buddhist philosophy,' and his books on 'The History of Pre-Buddhist Indian Philosophy' and on 'Ājivikas.' Later he also developed interest in Inscriptions and Buddhist Monuments as is proved by his works : 'Old Brāhmī Inscriptions in the Udayagiri and Khandagiri Caves,' 'Barhut Inscriptions', 'Aśoka and his Inscriptions' and his critical works on 'Gayā and Buddha-Gayā'. His 'Prakrit Dhammapada' shows critical acumen and literary industry. He has also written a volume of Buddhist Encyclopaedia in Bengali as well as a translation in Bengali of the Pāli Majjhimanikāya, vol. I. Besides these books he has written a number of articles and papers, more than *fifty* in number, on a variety of subjects, literary, philosophical, religious, historical and inscriptional, which show his deep insight and thorough mastery of the subjects he treated.

He was also connected with various Buddhist activities in Calcutta. He was intimately connected with the management of the Nālandā Vihāra and the Mahābodhi Society in Calcutta. He was one of the Founder-Editors of the famous Quarterly 'Indian Culture,' and it must have been a great shock to Dr. Bimal Churn Law (the only surviving editor of the Journal) with whom Dr. Barua enjoyed a personal friendship and literary companionship for several years past.

Dr. Barua had visited Ceylon on a lecturing mission and his lectures there, are now published in a book-form in 'Ceylon Lectures.' He was given the title of Tripiṭakācārya by the well-known Vidyālakāra Pariveṇa of Colombo.

He was a man of genial disposition, always maintaining a philosophic calm, even in adverse circumstances which would surely disturb an ordinary man. He was always kind and considerate even to those who differed from him in controversial matters and the writer of this obituary note can testify to his broad-mindedness and tolerance as he found Dr. Barua uniformly courteous to him, even when he was occasionally critical of Dr. Barua's literary contributions.

P. V. Bapat

THE LATE PROFESSOR
DR. DEVADATTA RAMKRISHNA BHANDARKAR

The death of Professor Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar is undoubtedly a great loss to the world of scholarship. A sound and critical scholar of his type is very rare now-a-days. People interested in the study and understanding of ancient India owe a deep debt of gratitude to the erudition of Dr. Bhandarkar of international reputation for his invaluable writings embodying results of his excellent researches into India's glorious past.

Dr. Bhandarkar was a son of one of our greatest orientalists the late Sir Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar. He was born on the 19th November, 1875. In 1896 he graduated himself from the Deccan College, Poona, and got his M. A. Degree from the University of Bombay in Languages (English and Sanskrit) with optional paper in Pali and Palæography. He won the Bhagawanlal Indraji Prize in 1897. He was the Bhagavandas Purusottamdas Sanskrit scholar of the Bombay University for the year 1900. The Sir James Campbell Gold Medal was awarded to him by the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society at a meeting held on the 15th November 1912, which was presided over by no less a person than Sir Narayanrao Chandavarkar. Dr. Bhandarkar was the second recipient of this medal, his predecessor being Sir Aurel Stein. This coveted medal was instituted in the name of the late Sir James Campbell who was a great authority on the ethnology of the Bombay Presidency. The work begun by Sir James Campbell was carried much further by Dr. Bhandarkar with his most valuable monographs on Ahirs, Gurjaras, Guhilots and the Foreign Elements of the Hindu population. He was also awarded the Dr. Bimala Churn Law Gold Medal by the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal for his most important contributions to ancient Indian history and archæology. In December 1921 the Honorary Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

was conferred upon him at a Special Convocation of the University of Calcutta along with a few other intellectual giants.

He was duly elected an Ordinary Fellow of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal and then an Honorary Fellow about two years before his death. He was nominated a Fellow of the University of Calcutta, which office he held till 1936. He was also an Honorary Member of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, and the Calcutta Historical Society, and an Honorary Fellow of the Indian Research Institute of Calcutta. He was an Honorary Correspondent of the Archaeological Survey of India and a corresponding member of the Indian Historical Records Commission.

In 1903 and also in 1917 he was appointed the Pandit Bhagawanlal Indrajī Lecturer of the University of Bombay; the Manindra Chandra Nandi Lecturer of the Benares Hindu University in 1925, and the Sir William Meyer Lecturer of the University of Madras in 1938-39.

He was the President of the Indian History Congress held at Allahabad 1938, and the Indian Cultural Conference held in Calcutta in 1936. He acted as the Philological Secretary of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal from 1920-25. Since 1917 he served as the Vice-Chairman and Member of the Board of Trustees of the Indian Museum, Calcutta. For some time he officiated as the Secretary and Treasurer to the Board of Trustees. From 1917-36 he adorned the Chair of the Carmichael Professor of Ancient Indian History and Culture in the University of Calcutta. He held this post very creditably. He was held in high esteem and admiration by his students and colleagues. He was no doubt a very successful teacher. His success as such was greatly due to his strong sense of duty, sincerity and honesty.

He joined the Calcutta University at the request of the then Vice-Chancellor Sir Ashutosh Mookerjee, whom he regarded as the Vikramāditya of the modern age out of great veneration for him. Prior to his accepting the Carmichael Professorship in the University of Calcutta, he was attached to the Archaeological Survey of India as the Superintendent, which post was not held by any Indian before him. As Superintendent he successfully carried out the work of excavating many ancient sites. His excavations at Besnagar

(ancient Vidiśā, modern Bhilsā) have yielded wonderful results, a full account of which may be found in the A. S. I., Annual Reports, 1913-14 and 1914-15.

He was the joint-Editor of the *Indian Antiquary* and the *Indian Culture*. He admirably discharged his duty as the Editor of the *Indian Antiquary* along with Sir Richard Temple. It was mainly due to Dr. Bhandarkar that the *Indian Culture* has seen the light of the day. He took a very great interest in its welfare up to his last breath. He was very anxious to see the *B. M. Barua Commemoration Volume* of the *Indian Culture*, but unfortunately he expired before the Volume is out.

He wrote many thoughtful papers connected with various aspects of Indian Archæology in several important oriental journals. He accomplished the difficult task of making the matter so clear to us in an admirable manner. His articles entitled ' *The Nausari Copper-plate Charter of the Gujarat Rāṣṭrakūṭa Prince Karkka I dated 738, 'A Kushāṇa Stone Inscription and the question about the origin of the Śaka Era* ' published in the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, and ' *A List of the Inscriptions of Northern India in Brahmi and its derivative scripts from 200 A. C.* ' published in the *Epigraphia Indica* and *Foreign Elements in the Hindu Population* published in the *Indian Antiquary* were highly praised by veteran orientlists. The views expressed by him in his article entitled ' *A Kushan stone-inscription and the question about the origin of the Śaka era* ', were accepted by his father the late Sir R. G. Bhandarkar in his article entitled ' *A Peep into the early history of India etc.* ' published in the *J. B. B. R. A. S.* (Vol. XX, p. 373 and No. 29 and p. 374 and No. 30). The order of succession among the Indo-Scythian princes determined by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar in his above article was accepted by Vincent Smith and others '.

He was the distinguished author of several books. It is needless to say that one finds a distinct stamp of vast erudition and sound judgment which characterise his writings. His *Carmichael Lectures* delivered in 1918 and 1921 at the Calcutta University, *Asoka*, *Some Aspects of Ancient Hindu Polity* and *Some Aspects of Ancient Indian Culture* will surely make him immortal in the domain of scholarship. Dr. Bhandarkar as Carmichael Professor delivered interesting and

instructive lectures on some topics connected with ancient Indian history and Culture. His lecture on Aryan colonisation of South India and Ceylon not only elicits new information but also furnishes us with a thorough, accurate, and critical treatment of the subject. His lecture on the political history from 650 to 325 B. C. traces the gradual evolution of imperialism. This lecture is replete with many new and interesting data. His lecture on administrative history will be very helpful to us. All these lectures which are embodied in the *Carmichael Lectures*, 1918, are written in a clear, simple and attractive style. They are full of information and completely free from unjustifiable speculation.

The *Carmichael Lectures* delivered by him in 1921 on the history and antiquity of coinage in ancient India and the importance of the study of numismatics, etc. are undoubtedly very valuable. Any and every researcher engaged in ancient Indian numismatics cannot but take help from them.

His book on *Asoka* containing his Carmichael Lectures for 1923 has become so very popular that a second edition has been called for within a short time. Dr. Bhandarkar was undoubtedly a great authority on Asokan history and inscriptions. Prinsep, Wilson, Burnouf, Kern, Senart and Bühler worked on Asokan inscriptions before him. Dr. Bhandarkar has admirably tackled many complicated questions concerning Asoka. Asoka and his early life, Asoka's empire and administration, Asoka as a Buddhist, Asoka's Dhamma, Asoka as a missionary, social and religious life from Asokan monuments, Asoka's place in history and Asoka inscriptions are the topics carefully and elaborately dealt with in his book. All these chapters, written in a simple, clear and inimitable style, bear evidence to his unrivalled skill of marshalling facts, shifting them with considerable ability and making them useful to students and scholars alike. His excellent monograph on *Asoka* is an important contribution towards a better understanding of the subject. I had the occasion of reviewing this book long ago in the pages of an Indological journal and it is no use repeating here what I have said in praise of this book which is undoubtedly one of the best in the field. *Some Aspects of Ancient Indian Culture* which form the Sir William Meyer Lectures delivered by him before the University of Madras in 1938-39 contain good dissertations on *ārya*, *dasa* and *śūdra*, Aryan culture, Aryanisation,

Brahmanisation and Indianisation. All these topics have been ably and critically dealt with in this book. Everybody interested in them will find his treatment extremely helpful.

Students and scholars who are the real lovers of Ancient Indian history and culture will remain ever grateful to him for his valuable work. He helped Mr. R. E. Enthoven, I. C. S., while he was attached to the Bombay Office of Census of India in 1901 in writing out chapters III and VIII relating to Religion and Sect and Caste and Tribe respectively.

He wrote a guide-book to the Elephanta Cave near Bombay to acquaint King George V with a brief account of the island and its architecture, when the King visited it in 1911. Dr. Bhandarkar satisfactorily answered all the queries made by the king and his party about the cave.

He was a very capable administrator, and he showed his skill as such while he was the Superintendent of the Archæological Survey of India, Western Circle. Sir John Marshall who was then the Director-General of Archæology in India greatly appreciated his merits.

It goes without saying that he was an expert in history, ethnology, archæology, epigraphy, palæography and numismatics. Moreover he was well posted in Sanskrit and Sanskritic languages.

A few years prior to his death were spent by him in revising the Gupta Inscriptions in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum* Vol.III.

He was in the habit of welcoming fair criticisms of his publications. He was ever ready to guide honest and laborious workers with his valuable suggestions. He was social, amiable and free from self-conceit. He was gifted with a ready wit. It was a pleasure to hold conversations with him on diverse subjects for hours together.

He died full of honours at a ripe old age of 75, leaving behind the rich treasure of knowledge.

May his soul read in peace !

B. C. Law

At its annual meeting held on the 6th of July 1950, the General Body of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute passed the following resolution of condolence touching the death of Prof. Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar.

“RESOLVED that this meeting of the General Body puts on record its sense of deep sorrow at the sad demise, on 30-5-1950, of Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, retired Professor of Ancient Indian History and Culture in the Calcutta University. Dr. Bhandarkar joined the Institute as a Life-member in September 1919, and was elected an Honorary Member of the Institute in 1943, on the occasion of its Silver Jubilee. He also served the Institute as a Member of the Regulating Council up to the time of his death and took keen interest in all its academic activities. His services as the Joint Editor of the *Annals* of the Institute, ranging over a fairly long period, need special mention. Dr. Bhandarkar always tried to uphold and promote, in every possible manner, the high traditions of Scholarship established by his illustrious father, Dr. Sir R. G. Bhandarkar. His manifold and valuable contributions in the field of Indian history, epigraphy, archaeology and numismatics amply testify to his deep learning and scientific methods. The loss sustained by Indian scholarship through his demise is irreparable.”

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